DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 395 728 RC 020 517

AUTHOR	Cantoni, Gina, Ed.
TITLE	Stabilizing Indigenous Languages. Perspectives: Center for Excellence in Education Monograph Series. [Proceedings of Two Symposia (Flagstaff, Arizona, November 1994 and May 1995).]
INSTITUTION	Northern Arizona Univ., Flagstaff. Center for Excellence in Education.
SPONS AGENCY	Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (ED), Washington, DC.
PUB DATE	96
NOTE	258p.; For selected individual papers, see RC 020 518-525.
AVAILABLE FROM	Bilingual/Multicultural Education Program, Center for Excellence in Education, P.O. Box 5774, Northern Arizona Univ., Flagstaff, AZ 86011-5774.
PUB TYPE	Books (010) -- Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC11 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Alaska Natives; American Indian Education; *American Indian Languages; American Indians; *Bilingual Education; Bilingual Education Programs; Canada Natives; Community Action; Early Childhood Education; Elementary Secondary Education; *Eskimo Aleut Languages; Family Role; Hawaiian; Hawaiians; Higher Education; Indigenous Populations; *Language Maintenance; *Native Language Instruction; School Community Relationship; School Role
IDENTIFIERS	*Endangered Languages; *Native Americans

ABSTRACT

In November 1994 and May 1995, two symposia on stabilizing indigenous languages were attended by U.S. and Canadian tribal educators and experts on linguistics, language renewal, and language teaching. Participants sought to lay out a blueprint of policy changes, educational reforms, and community initiatives to stabilize and revitalize American Indian, Hawaiian, and Alaska Native languages. These symposia included a survey of the historical, current, and projected status of indigenous languages in North America as well as extensive dialogues on the roles of families, communities, and schools in promoting their use and maintenance. Participants emphasized "success stories" that document how language maintenance and transmission can become a reality. This proceedings contains individual presentations and summaries of roundtables on needs and rationale, Native American language and educational policies, families and communities, and education (including sessions on early childhood education, bilingual programs in schools, and higher education). Major presentations include: (1) a preface (Richard E. Littlebear); (2) "Rationale and Needs for Stabilizing Indigenous Languages" (Jon Reyhner); (3) "Status of Native American Language Endangerment" (Michael Krauss); (4) "Aboriginal Language Maintenance, Development, and Enhancement: A Review of Literature" (Barbara Burnaby); (5) "OBEMLA's Commitment to Endangered Languages" (Dang T. Pham); (6) "Seven Hypotheses on Language Loss: Causes and Cures" (James Crawford); (7) "What Do You Lose When You Lose Your Language?" (Joshua Fishman); (8) "What My Hualapai Language Means to Me" (Damon Clarke); and (9) "Maintaining Languages: What Works? What Doesn't?" (Joshua Fishman). Additional papers describe language programs in American Samoa, Northwest Territories (Canada), Hawaii, Alaska, Mexico, and schools serving the Navajo and Salt River reservations. Appendices include a list of participants, bibliographies of selected resources, and a model for promoting Native American language preservation and teaching. (SV)

Stabilizing
Indigenous Languages

ED 395 728

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality
- Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy

Edited by Gina Cantoni

Center for
Excellence in Education

Northern Arizona University

RC020517

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Stabilizing Indigenous Languages

Gina Cantoni, Editor

A Center for Excellence in Education Monograph
Northern Arizona University
Flagstaff

Stabilizing Indigenous Languages is a special issue of Northern Arizona University's Center for Excellence in Education Monograph Series, *Perspectives*.

Monograph Series Editorial Board
Stephen D. Lapan and Sam Minner, General Editors
Keith Carreiro
Tom Fetsco
Dan Kain
Ramona Mellott
Susan Miller
Peggy Raines

Editorial Board For This Special Issue
James Crawford
Dick Heiser
Deborah House
Richard Littlebear
Gary McLean
Jon Reyhner

Previous Monographs Include:
The Meaning of Intelligence: Implications For Gifted Education, Stephen D. Lapan
International Education and the Search for Human Understanding, Dickson Mungazi
Dimensions of Diversity, Stephen D. Lapan & Sam Minner, Editors

The contents of this monograph were developed under a grant from the Department of Education. However, those contents do not necessarily represent the policy of the Department of Education, and you should not assume endorsement by the Federal Government.

Copyright © 1996 by Northern Arizona University. Additional copies of this monograph can be obtained from the Bilingual/Multicultural Education Program, Center for Excellence in Education, PO Box 5774, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, Arizona, 86011-5774. Reprinting and copying on a non-profit basis is hereby allowed with proper identification of the source, except for James Crawford's paper, which has special requirements indicated in the footnote on its title page.

Table of Contents

Introduction
Gina Cantoni vi

Preface
Richard E. Littlebear xiii

I: Needs and Rationale — Jon Reyhner, Facilitator

November Roundtable: Needs and Rationale Group Abstract 2
Rationale and Needs for Stabilizing Indigenous Languages
Jon Reyhner 3
Status of Native American Language Endangerment
Michael Krauss 16
Aboriginal Language Maintenance, Development, and Enhancement
Barbara Burnaby 22

II: Language Policy — William Demmert and Robert Arnold, Facilitators

November Roundtable: Native American Language Policy Group Abstract 42
Native American Language Policy Group Summary 43
OBEMLA's Commitment to Endangered Languages
Dang T. Pham 49
Seven Hypotheses on Language Loss: Causes and Cures
James Crawford 51
Policy Documents:
  Native American Languages Act of 1990 69
  National Goals: Indian Nations at Risk Task Force 73

III: Families and Communities — Joshua Fishman, Benjamin Barney, and Dan McLaughlin, Facilitators

November Roundtable: Families and Communities Group Abstract 76
Families and Community Group Summary 77
What Do You Lose When You Lose Your Language?
Joshua Fishman 80
What My Hualapai Language Means To Me
Damon Clarke 92
Language Activists Panel Summary
Jon Reyhner 96
Written Statement, *Rosemary Ackley Christensen* 101
Media, Writers, Arts Session Summary
Laura Wallace 103
Written Statement, *Ofelia Zepeda* 108

IV: Education — John Oller and Richard Littlebear, Facilitators

November Roundtable: Education Group Abstract 112
Education Group Summary 113
Early Childhood Session Summary
Gary D. McLean 119
Schools - Language Acquisition Session Summary
Gary D. McLean 123
Schools - Developmental Session Summary
Ferlin Clark 127
Colleges and Universities Session Summary 131
Native American Student Panel Summary
Jon Reyhner and Deborah House 133
Adult Education Session Summary
Deborah House and Jon Reyhner 143

Additional Papers
American Samoa Language Arts and Culture
Bernadette Manase, Elisapeta Luaao, and Mataio Fiamalua 150
Beauford-Delta Divisional Board of Education
Pauline Gordon 152
Hawaiian Language Programs
Kauanoe Kamanā and William H. Wilson 153
Lower Kuskokwim Bilingual Programs
Beverly Williams, Kathy Gross, and Duane Magoon 157
Navajo Immersion Program
Lettie Nave 161
Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community
Emmett S. White, Kelly Washington, and Beverly Smith 162
Stories for Language Revitalization in Náhuatl and Chichimeca
Norbert Francis and Rafael Nieto Andrade 163
The Tarahumara of Mexico: An Overview
Carla Paciotto 174
Tuba City
Gary D. McLean and Jon Reyhner 182

Conclusion

Maintaining Languages: What Works and What Doesn't
Joshua Fishman 186

Appendices

November, 1994, Program 199
May, 1995, Program 204
Symposia Participants 208
Contributors to the Proceedings 216
Symposia Evaluation 218
Selected Resources on Native American Language Renewal
Jon Reyhner 224
Selected Resources on Endangered Languages
Anthony C. Woodbury 227
Journal of Navajo Education Information 232
A Model for Promoting Native American Language Preservation and Teaching 234
Letter, *Mariella Squire* 240

Introduction

Gina Cantoni

In November 1994 and May 1995, with funding and sponsorship from the United States Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (OBEMLA), Northern Arizona University's Center for Excellence in Education hosted two symposia on stabilizing indigenous languages attended by participants from 21 states, two U.S. territories, and Canada. The Flagstaff Roundtables on Stabilizing Indigenous Languages sought through the bringing together of tribal educators and experts on linguistics, language renewal, and language teaching to lay out a blueprint of policy changes, educational reforms, and community initiatives to stabilize and revitalize American Indian and Alaska Native languages. These symposia included a survey of the historical, current, and projected status of indigenous languages in the United States as well as extensive dialogues on the roles of families, communities, and schools in promoting their use and maintenance. In addition to listening to a variety of experts, the participants turned their attention to documenting how language maintenance and transmission can become a reality, with emphasis on "success stories." The broad areas of family, community, and school naturally fell into subtopics such as preschool, adult education, arts and the media, and so forth.

Each symposium highlighted talks by well-known scholars. In November:

Dr. Dang T. Pham, Deputy Director, OBEMLA
"OBEMLA's Commitment to Endangered Indigenous Languages"

Dr. Joshua A. Fishman, Distinguished Professor Emeritus
Ferkauf Graduate School, Yeshiva University
"Reversing Language Shift: Challenges, Strategies, and Successes"

In May:

Dr. Richard Littlebear
Director of the Multifunctional Resource Center in Anchorage
"A Review of the Findings of the First Symposium"

Dr. Michael Krauss, University of Alaska
"Status of Native North American Languages:
Why Should We Care?"

James Crawford, Author, Consultant
"Sociological and Historical Perspectives on Language Shift"

Damon Clarke
"What My Language Means To Me"

and finally:

Dr. Joshua A. Fishman, Distinguished Professor Emeritus
Ferkauf Graduate School, Yeshiva University, NYC
"What Works and What Doesn't"

In addition to interacting with these experts, the participants met in small groups led by moderators who encouraged everyone to speak. The outcome of the sessions has been a somewhat surprising convergence of ideas in terms of what impedes language maintenance and what promotes it. Among the most frequently discussed barriers were:

- the lack of opportunity to practice native languages at home;
- the parents' lack of proficiency in the native language;
- the teachers' criticism of those who speak the home language in school;
- the tendency to correct novice learners whenever they make a mistake;
- the likelihood of put-downs by non-speakers of the home language;
- the perception that English is a better vehicle for economic success; and
- the teaching of isolated vocabulary items instead of communicative skills.

In addition, some widespread misconceptions about language teaching and learning were identified as serious barriers to the success of native language maintenance and transmission. These misconceptions included:

- you have to give up your own language in order to master another one;
- you need special training to teach your own language to your children;
- schools can take over the job of teaching a language if families do not teach it; and
- writing a language is what keeps it alive.

Among the conclusions on which there seemed to be strong agreement by symposium participants were:

- school programs alone are not sufficient for language maintenance (but better than nothing);
- schools must change significantly and communities must have a major say in what the schools do; and
- schools are best at implementing a developmental language curriculum for children who have acquired the language at home.

Consistent with the above, the most frequently agreed-upon recommendations were:

- keep the home as the central source of native language learning;
- provide instruction in the home language at an early age;
- offer classes in native languages at all levels, including college;
- welcome anyone interested to attend these classes; and
- combine the focus on language with a focus on culture.

These are not startling innovations; what we need is a critical mass of committed people, and this critical mass can only be created through continuous capillary infiltration of information and encouragement. This volume is intended to be a part of such an effort. It will be disseminated not only to those who attended one or both of the sessions, but to a much wider audience consisting of Native and non-Native individuals and institutions. The message this volume carries begins with an alert about the severity of impending language loss. Many people are not aware of the danger, and researchers may not agree about exact figures. We are told that 80% of existing American Indian languages are moribund — perhaps 50% of the languages existing in today's world are endangered, only 600 are reasonably safe because of the large number of speakers (at least 100,000). About 90% of the world's languages may be extinct in the next century, to be supplanted by those, such as English, Spanish, or Chinese, that have been more widely taught and used. The danger of language extinction and of the loss of linguistic diversity parallels and exceeds the severity of the decline of plant and animal diversity on our earth.

Languages are more likely to disappear as a result of the destruction of the cultural habitat of their speakers than because of direct attack upon their use (as, for example, when they are forbidden by political powers, especially in schools and public offices). But it is important to remember that there are political forces pushing national and state constitutional amendments to make English the official language of this country that could harm efforts to save indigenous languages. Because states are being asked to ratify a constitutional amendment to make English our official language, it is important that indigenous language advocates make their concerns known at all levels of government: local, tribal, state, federal, and international. In addition, state governments need to be lobbied to ensure that traditional native speakers be included as "eminent" educators along with certified teachers.

It is feasible, though far from easy, to prevent and even reverse linguistic extinction. It is possible to halt the repression of local culture and promote the production of materials, written texts, and radio and television broadcasts in minority languages. One can preserve taped and written samples; one can encourage the use of a traditional language for songs, special social events, ceremonies, and rituals.

Should this be done? Who should decide? Those who choose to switch to the mainstream language for the sake of their own and their children's economic and social well-being have the right to do so. No outsiders should presume to criticize them.

Unfortunately, people often stop using and transmitting their language not as a conscious, deliberate, well-examined choice. They may not be aware of what they are doing, or of the impact of their behavior. When circumstances prevent them from using their own language in their own home, they tend to believe that other families will keep it alive, or that the schools can assume this responsibility.

What explanations and reasons can we give to people so that they have an enlightened choice? How can we reward the efforts of those who set a good example? How can we encourage others to join them? In attempting to address these questions we have become convinced that the problems are world-wide (like all ecological issues) and that, although action needs to be taken at the local and individual level, it may be more useful to think globally. Thus one might profit from the experience of others, preventing the repetition of processes that have proven futile and avoiding wasting time "reinventing the wheel."

Although the Symposia were organized as a United States based initiative focused on the Southwest, we received calls and evidence of interest from far-away places. This led to the decision to accept papers having to do with language issues in areas outside our northern and southern boundaries even though the authors were unable to present them in person. Therefore, Mexico and Canada are represented in this volume by articles by Pauline Gordon, Norbert Francis and Rafael Nieto Andrade, and Carla Paciotto.

The material in the text has been organized by topic rather than according to the chronological order in which various discussions were held. There is of course a certain amount of overlap between sections, since it is hardly feasible, for example, to separate community issues from schooling. We have arranged information according to the focus and the point of view from which it seemed to flow. When individual presenters or participants have sent us articles or other original materials we have published it as fully as space allows, but in several cases we have had to rely on transcriptions of tapes. This is true of some individual presentations (such as Dr. Fishman's and Dr. Krauss's) and of all the group discussions.

Following an inspiring preface by Dr. Littlebear, the book is arranged into four parts, a conclusion, and appendices. The first part on needs and rational presents various perspectives about the urgency of maintaining one's home language. In his article, Dr. Reyhner places this information in the context of political and historical reality; his article is based not only on the input of the November Roundtable but also on his own extensive knowledge of Indian education. The bleak reality of numbers world-wide is made clear by Dr. Krauss, who reminds us of the speed with which indigenous languages have ceased to be spoken. Barbara Burnaby gives an overview of the situation focusing on Canada.

The second part deals with language policy. A summary of the November Roundtable's input is followed by the report on Dr. Pham's encouraging message in which he conveys the assurance that the United States Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (OBEMLA) stands firmly behind the concept of minority language rights. Focusing on the United States, James Crawford addresses both the causes and cures of the problem in his "Seven Hypotheses" article. The section concludes with two policy documents: the text of the Native American Languages Act of 1990 and the 1991 goals of the U.S. Secretary of Education's Indian Nations at Risk Task Force.

The next section addresses the role of families and communities. After a summary of the November group's discussion, the fundamental role of the home in keeping the language alive then is eloquently discussed by Joshua Fishman. His presentation included examples from other language groups and other cultures, but the message is unequivocal: schools cannot accomplish intergenerational transmission unless the task is begun and continued in the home. Damon Clarke then discusses what his Hualapai language means to him. These papers are followed by reports on two group presentations: one a language activists panel summarized by Jon Reyhner and including a written statement by Rosemary Ackley Christensen and the other of the media, writers, arts session summarized by Laura Wallace along with a written statement by Ofelia Zepeda.

The fourth section deals with education, which includes the following sub-topics:

- Early childhood education
- School-based programs for indigenous language acquisition
- School-based programs for indigenous language development
- Colleges and Universities, including a report on a panel of students from Northern Arizona University and Navajo Community College
- Adult education

These discussions and reports have emphasized examples of successful language maintenance within formal academic frameworks. We feel encouraged by the reports of their effectiveness and by the existence of social and political support systems that have made them possible. The education section concludes with additional submissions of written materials on programs that were described in various sessions at the May symposium plus materials on indigenous language initiatives in Mexico.

We conclude these proceedings with a summary of Dr. Fishman's recapitulation of the multiple aspects and successful initiatives of our mission.

The Appendices include the May and November Symposia programs and the names and addresses of participants, which are provided to facilitate the establishment of a productive and continuing network of language advocacy. We also include a summary of evaluation comments by symposia participants, selected resources on American Indian language renewal, a list of selected resources on endangered languages, information on the *Journal of Navajo Education*, and a model for promoting Native American language preservation and teaching developed by the Alaska Bilingual Multifunctional Resource Center 16. We finish with a letter from Mariella Squire of West Glover, Vermont, as a sample of the interest shown throughout the country on the subject of indigenous language renewal.

Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons.

Indigenous children have the right to all levels and forms of education of the State. All indigenous peoples also have the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning.

— United Nations Draft Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 1993

Preface

Richard E. Littlebear

Our Native American languages have been oral since time immemorial. Some of them have been written only in the last three centuries. We must remember this oral tradition when we teach our languages.

We sometimes negate this oral tradition by blindly following the only model for language teaching we know: the way we were taught the English language with its heavy emphasis on grammar. Teaching our languages as if they had no oral tradition is one factor which contributes to the failures of our Native American language teaching programs so that we now have what amounts to a tradition of failure.

Probably because of this tradition of failure, we latch onto anything that looks as though it will preserve our languages. As a result, we now have a litany of what we have viewed as **the** one item that will save our languages. This one item is usually quickly replaced by another.

For instance, some of us said, "Let's get our languages into written form" and we did and still our Native American languages kept on dying.

Then we said, "Let's make dictionaries for our languages" and we did and still the languages kept on dying.

Then we said, "Let's get linguists trained in our own languages" and we did, and still the languages kept on dying.

Then we said, "Let's train our own people who speak our languages to become linguists" and we did and still our languages kept on dying.

Then we said, "Let's apply for a federal bilingual education grant" and we did and got a grant and still our languages kept on dying.

Then we said, "Let's let the schools teach the languages" and we did, and still the languages kept on dying.

Then we said, "Let's develop culturally-relevant materials" and we did and still our languages kept on dying.

Then we said, "Let's use language masters to teach our languages" and we did, and still our languages kept on dying.

Then we said, "Let's tape-record the elders speaking our languages" and we did and still our languages kept on dying.

Then we said, "Let's video-tape our elders speaking and doing cultural activities" and we did and still our languages kept on dying.

Then we said, "Let's put our native language speakers on CD-ROM" and we did and still the languages kept on dying.

Finally, someone will say, "Let's flash-freeze the remaining speakers of our languages so when technology catches up these speakers can be thawed-out and revived and we will have ready-made Native American languages speakers" and we will do that and these thawed-out speakers will awake to a world in the distant future where they are the only speakers of their languages because all of the other speakers of their languages will be gone and no one will understand them. In this litany, we have viewed each item as the one that will save our languages — and they haven't.

Of course, resorting to cryogenics and flash-freezing are desperate measures. The point is that despite the advances in teaching methods and technology and our increasing dependency on them, our languages are still dying. Also part of their dying is caused by the steady attrition of Native speakers. Our languages have few means, like birth, for replenishing Native speakers, and even birth is failing because we are not teaching our newborn how to speak their native languages.

Other American languages are perpetuated by the periodic influx of immigrants into the United States. Our languages do not have the luxury of this influx because nowhere else in this world, for instance, is Athabascan Gwich'in spoken. This lack of an influx puts our languages in a unique but highly vulnerable position. They are unique because they represent a microcosm complete with its own linguistics, world-view, spirituality, ethos, and community of speakers. They are vulnerable because they exist in the macrocosm of the English language and its awesome ability to displace and eliminate other languages.

To reverse this influence of English, families must retrieve their rightful position as the first teachers of our languages. They must talk our languages every day, everywhere, with everyone, anywhere. But if they are going to relinquish this teaching responsibility to the schools then they must be supportive. They must make sure the schools use teaching methods which are oral-based. We must use all of the items (except flash-freezing) in the litany to preserve our languages instead of pinning all of our hopes on just one.

That means that we must know where each item is appropriate. Knowing the appropriate place is often dependent on knowing the amount of language loss that has occurred in the group which speaks that language. For instance, a language spoken only by people ages 60 years or older may no longer be viable as a language immersion program. The reason is that the stamina required to teach the language may be too much for this age group.

This foregoing example shows why we must keep discussing the issues surrounding Alaska Native/Native American language preservation efforts. The issues are ever-changing and we must keep abreast of them in order to maintain a high level of effort at language preservation.

We must get beyond the self-victimization stage and quit pointing fingers at the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the mission schools, the media, and the public schools as the causes of the loss of our languages. Even though we are right when we blame the loss of our languages on these organizations, the stark fact remains that they are not going to help us restore, revive, or preserve our languages. They have no stake in these language preservation efforts. In fact, they nearly succeeded in accomplishing where they had a stake: killing our languages.

So the responsibility for saving our languages is ours and ours alone; we are the pivotal generation because we are probably the last generation of speakers who can joke, converse about highly technical topics, articulate deep, psychic pain, and also discuss appropriate healing strategies without once resorting to the English language.

Conclusion

Our Native American languages are in the penultimate moment of their existence in this world. It is the last and only time that we will have the opportunity to save them. We must continue to promote the successful programs throughout Alaska and Indian Country.

We must quit endlessly lamenting and continuously cataloguing the causes of language death; instead, we must now deal with these issues by learning from successful language preservation efforts.

So if we do nothing, then we can expect our languages to be dead by the end of the next century. Even that time-line might be an optimistic, if we do nothing to preserve our languages.

A great void will be left in the universe that will never be filled when all of our languages die.

One horrible day 1,600 years ago, the wisdom of many centuries went up in flames. The great library in Alexandria burned down, a catastrophe at the time and a symbol for all ages of the vulnerability of human knowledge. . . .

Today, with little notice, vast archives of knowledge and expertise are spilling into oblivion, leaving humanity in danger of losing its past and perhaps jeopardizing its future as well. . . .

[When] a language disappears, traditional knowledge tends to vanish with it. . . .

— E. Linden, Lost Tribes, Lost Knowledge.
Time, September 23, 1991

Section I

Rationale and Needs

Jon Reyhner
Facilitator

November Roundtable
Needs and Rationale Group Abstract

1.) The legal right to maintain indigenous languages has been accepted for the most part in this country, but the "effective" right is not in the hands of American Indian tribes. They do not have the tools to do the job in spite of recent reversals in government policy in the direction of self-determination.

2.) Accepting Joshua Fishman's emphasis on the necessity for the intergenerational transmission of mother tongues, the Group expressed its belief that a well-planned investment in Indian languages, and indigenous languages generally, would be extremely effective "in terms of addressing pressing national and international problems."

3.) The Group emphasized:
   a) the importance of language as irreplaceable cultural knowledge.
   b) the importance of bilingualism and an "English Plus" philosophy.
   c) the Native American Languages Act's impact on government policy changes.
   d) the importance of family values in language survival.
   e) the work of the Indian Nations at Risk Task Force and the White House Conference of 1992.

4.) The Group recommended several courses of action in developing the "effective right" of Native peoples to maintain their languages:
   a) fostering of new, innovative, community-based approaches.
   b) directing more research efforts toward analyzing community-based successes.
   c) fostering communication and partnerships between communities and organizations trying new approaches to maintaining languages.
   d) promoting heightened consciousness of the catastrophic effects of language loss both among members of language minority populations and among members of the mainstream population.

5.) Because of the federal and state governments' long-term roles in creating the current endangered status of American Indian and Alaskan Native languages, it is appropriate for them to provide assistance in helping American Indians and Alaskan Natives to stabilize and renew their languages.

Rationale and Needs for Stabilizing Indigenous Languages[1]

Jon Reyhner

Despite ongoing challenges and setbacks, the struggle of American Indian and Alaska Native communities for the **legal** right to maintain their languages and cultures has been won for the most part. An extensive body of legislation and litigation continues to fortify tribal rights. Our efforts in the United States are being strengthened internationally by actions of the United Nations aimed at protecting the lands, rights, languages, and cultures of indigenous peoples worldwide.

Most American Indian tribes, however, like many other indigenous peoples of the world, lack what may be termed the **effective** right to save their languages and cultures. The effective right as it is used here means access to the knowledge, strategies, and resources necessary to resist destruction of languages and cultures. Stated more simply, the effective right means access to the tools for getting the job done. The legal right without the effective right is of little value. Effective solutions for reversing the loss of American Indian and Alaska Native languages must be found and implemented soon. Both indecision and ineffective action will not reverse the current rapid loss of surviving indigenous languages.

This rationale and needs statement documents the importance of indigenous languages as an irreplaceable cultural knowledge and as a cornerstone of indigenous community and family values. It gives an overview of past government policies to eradicate indigenous languages and then describes the reversal of those policies with the new policy of Indian self-determination over the last quarter century. Tribal language policies are cited as evidence of the desire of American Indians and Alaska Natives to preserve and renew their languages.

The rationale and needs working group was in agreement with the Roundtable's keynoter Joshua Fishman that efforts to save languages must ultimately deal with the intergenerational transmission of mother-tongues. This is, to a large extent, a family and community issue.

---

[1] This paper reflects the input of the Rationale and Needs Group, which met on November 17, 1994, and consisted of Elizabeth Brandt, Arizona State University; Damon Clarke, Northern Arizona University; Willard Gilbert, Northern Arizona University; Juana Jose, Office of Indian Education, Arizona Department of Education; Alvin Kelly, Quechan Nation, Yuma; Paul Platero, Navajo Division of Education; Kathryn Stevens, Director, Office of Indian Education, Arizona Department of Education. Thanks also go to Gary D. McLean and Ed Tennant for their contributions to this document.

Exclusive focus on education and schools can compound, rather than solve, the problem of language shift. Groups who are succeeding in saving their language have found ways to revitalize and stabilize their speech community. In these cases, schools play a role, but the community is the primary focus of action.

Stabilizing an endangered language touches all aspects of a community from child-rearing practices and intergenerational communication to economic and political development. Helping indigenous Americans develop the effective right to save their languages would likely produce important benefits, not only for the various tribes on the brink of destruction but for all societies. An investment in Indian languages that would be large enough, come fast enough, and be well-enough planned to make a difference would likely prove to be an extremely effective investment in terms of addressing pressing national and international problems.

Language as Irreplaceable Cultural Knowledge

Many of the keys to the psychological, social, and physical survival of humankind may well be held by the smaller speech communities of the world. These keys will be lost as languages and cultures die. Our languages are joint creative productions that each generation adds to. Languages contain generations of wisdom, going back into antiquity. Our languages contain a significant part of the world's knowledge and wisdom. When a language is lost, much of the knowledge that language represents is also gone. Our words, our ways of saying things are different ways of being, thinking, seeing, and acting. In the words of anthropologist Russell Bernard,

> Linguistic diversity . . . is at least the correlate of (though not the cause of) diversity of adaptational ideas — ideas about transferring property (or even the idea of property itself), curing illness, acquiring food, raising children, distributing power, or settling disputes.
>
> By this reasoning, any reduction of language diversity diminishes the adaptational strength of our species because it lowers the pool of knowledge from which we can draw. We know that the reduction of biodiversity today threatens all of us. I think we are conducting an experiment to see what will happen to humanity if we eliminate "cultural species" in the world. This is a reckless experiment. If we don't like the way it turns out, there's no going back. (1992, p. 82)

Where American Indians are concerned, for example, tremendous contributions have been made to the mainstream society in many areas including agriculture, governance, art, and philosophy (Weatherford, 1988 & 1991). If the natural world survives the next few centuries, much will be owed to the insights and perspectives of American Indians and other indigenous groups. Unfortunately, the Indian communities that have survived until now may be extinct by then.

A vicious cycle persists that is very difficult to break. Lack of community infrastructure and many social problems contribute to language shift; language shift fosters dysfunctional behavior, and so it goes. So much damage has been inflicted on the local cultures that some people seem rather fatalistic about language loss, not to mention solving the many social problems associated with the accompanying cultural unraveling.

Family Values and Native Language Survival

American Indian and Alaska Native languages are threatened as fewer and fewer children are learning them in the home. Many non-Indians and some Indians see no tragedy in the loss of these languages, but as this country becomes more and more dominated by concern about crime and the breakdown of traditional families, many American Indians and Alaska Natives see the perpetuation of native languages as vital to their cultural integrity.

The reason for this is, that in addition to speech, each language carries with it an unspoken network of cultural values Although these values generally operate on a subliminal level, they are, nonetheless, a major force in the shaping of each person's self-awareness, identity, and interpersonal relationships (Scollon & Scollon, 1981). These values are psychological imperatives that help generate and maintain an individual's level of comfort and self-assurance, and, consequently, success in life. In the normal course of events these values are absorbed along with one's mother tongue in the first years of life. For that reason, cultural values and mother tongue are so closely intertwined in public consciousness that they are often, but mistakenly, seen as inseparable. For the majority of young Natives today, culture and language have, in fact, been separated. As a result, most of these young people are trying "to walk in two worlds" with only one language. This is a far more complex and stressful undertaking than the "two worlds" metaphor would suggest (Henze & Vanett, 1993).

Across two cultures the preferred etiquette for behaving or communicating in a particular situation may be starkly different. Using the same language across the two cultures often poses a challenge to both sense and sensitivity (Platt, 1989). Giving young Natives the opportunity to keep or learn their tribal language offers them a strong antidote to the culture clash many of them are experiencing but cannot verbalize. If along with the language, they learn to recognize the hidden network of cultural values that permeates the language, they will add to the knowledge and skills required to "walk in two worlds." They will learn to recognize and cope with cross-cultural values that are often at odds with each other, and they will begin to adopt more comfortably the cultural value that is appropriate for a particular cultural situation (Tennant, 1993).

The revival and preservation of minority languages is not a hopeless cause. Successful efforts towards indigenous language renewal and maintenance are to be found around the world. Examples are to be found in the revival of Hebrew in Israel, French in Quebec, and Catalan in Spain (Fishman, 1991). Even in the United States with its emphasis on conformity, small groups such as the Hutterites and Hasidic Jews have been able to maintain their languages and cultures.

Native Language Can Help English Proficiency

In seeking to preserve their cultural heritage, tribes are not rejecting the importance of English language instruction for their children. The results of the latest U.S. Department of Education study of bilingual education programs show that native-language use in schools does not hold children back (Ramirez, 1992). Such research tends to use English-language standardized test scores as a measure of success. If such research also focused on objectives such as strengthening American Indian families, there can be little doubt that bilingual programs utilizing and developing native-language fluency produce superior results. This is supported by the findings in the aforementioned study that parents were most satisfied with having their students learn both English and their home language and wanted their children to stay in bilingual programs longer.

Internationally, researchers have found that bilingualism is an asset rather than a handicap (Baker, 1988; Cummins, 1989). It is not necessary to forget a home language to learn a second "school" language and be academically successful in that second language. It takes time, around six years on average, to become fully — that is academically — competent in a second language, but through proper instruction — such as has been carried out at Rock Point Community School in the Navajo Nation — students can learn English and the academic subjects — math, science, and so forth — and still learn to read and write their tribal language (Collier, 1989; Cummins, 1989; Reyhner, 1990).

Former National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE) Treasurer Dr. Richard Littlebear sees "our native languages nurturing our spirits and hearts and the English language as sustenance for our bodies" (1990, p. 8). American Indians and Alaska Natives are seeking to follow a bilingual "English Plus" philosophy that will preserve their heritages and will allow their children access to jobs in the non-Indian world.

Results of Past Government Policies

From the very beginning of the invasion of the Americas that began in 1492, Europeans overwhelmingly failed to recognize the strengths of American Indian cultures, globally evaluating them as "savage," when in fact they were different. Europeans commented on but did not fully appreciate American Indian and Alaska Native cultural strengths such as their kindness towards and love of children, the important role women played in many tribes, and their respect for and appreciation of the natural world. Efforts to Europeanize and Christianize Indians alternated with efforts at genocide or removal.

After the American Civil War, President Ulysses S. Grant appointed Peace Commissioners in an attempt to bring an end to the Indian wars on the frontier. The commission concluded that language differences led to misunderstandings and that:

> Now, by educating the children of these tribes in the English language these differences would have disappeared, and civilization would have followed at once. . . .
>
> Through sameness of language is produced sameness of sentiment, and thought; customs and habits are molded and assimilated in the same way, and thus in process of time the differences producing trouble would have been gradually obliterated. . . .
>
> In the difference of language to-day lies two-thirds of our trouble. . . . Schools should be established, which children should be required to attend; their barbarous dialect should be blotted out and the English language substituted. (*Report of the Indian Peace Commissioners*, 1868, pp. 16-17)

Government supported education became the means to accomplish the eradication of Indian languages. Indian children were taken away from their families and put in government funded boarding schools. Once there, they were kept away from their families for years at a time and punished in a variety of ways if they used their mother-tongue. Harsh punishments such as whipping were used that would never have been considered by the supposedly "savage" Indians. Under Secretary of the Interior Schurz, the Indian Bureau issued regulations in 1880 that "all instruction must be in English" in both mission and government schools under threat of loss of government funding (Prucha, 1973, p. 199). In 1885, the Indian school superintendent for the BIA optimistically predicted,

> if there were a sufficient number of reservation boarding-school-buildings to accommodate all the Indian children of school age, and these building could be filled and kept filled

> with Indian pupils, the Indian problem would be solved within the school age of the Indian child now six years old. (Oberly, 1885, cxiii)

It was felt by J.D.C. Atkins, Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1885 to 1888, that "to teach Indian school children their native tongue is practically to exclude English, and to prevent them from acquiring it" (1887, p. xxiii). The ethnocentric attitude prevalent in the late Nineteenth Century is evident in Atkins' 1887 report.

> Every nation is jealous of its own language, and no nation ought to be more so than ours, which approaches nearer than any other nationality to the perfect protection of its people. True Americans all feel that the Constitution, laws, and institutions of the United States, in their adaptation to the wants and requirements of man, are superior to those of any other country; and they should understand that by the spread of the English language will these laws and institutions be more firmly established and widely disseminated. Nothing so surely and perfectly stamps upon an individual a national characteristic as language. . . . [As the Indians] are in an English-speaking country, they must be taught the language which they must use in transacting business with the people of this country. No unity or community of feeling can be established among different peoples unless they are brought to speak the same language, and thus become imbued with like ideas of duty. . . .
>
> The instruction of the Indians in the vernacular is not only of no use to them, but is detrimental to the cause of their education and civilization, and no school will be permitted on the reservation in which the English language is not exclusively taught. (Atkins, 1887, pp. xxi-xxiii)

This government sponsored suppression of Indian languages and cultures continues to this day, though without the harsher forms of punishment, in government supported boarding schools that concentrate on an English-language curriculum. An unintended side effect of the government boarding school has been generations of Indian youth that failed to learn loving child rearing skills because of their removal from their homes.

Coincident with the loss of language has been the breakdown of extended families. In traditional American Indian and Alaska Native cultures, the extended family was a central way of life. Parents, grandparents, aunts, and uncles were all in the household living as a family. Beyond the debilitating effects of the white man's education and the boarding school experience has been the destructive effects of other government programs such as the construction of single family housing units that isolate extended family members from each other and help prevent grandparents and other relatives passing down their language and culture to the children.

Generally, the results of government sponsored suppression of indigenous languages and cultures in the United States has been catastrophic for American Indian and Alaska Native peoples. Prior to the turn of the century this suppression was coupled with genocidal activities such as forced removal, now called "ethnic cleansing," which helped sharply reduced the American Indian population in the United States from an estimated ten million in 1492 to just over two hundred thousand in 1900. Russell Thornton (1987) described this drop in population as the "American Indian holocaust."

Self-Determination

President Richard Nixon enunciated the current United States policy of American Indian and Alaska Native self-determination in response to the expressed desires of American Indian and Alaska Native peoples. In a special message to Congress on Indian affairs in 1971, he wrote:

> the story of the Indian in America is something more than the record of the white man's frequent aggression, broken agreements, intermittent remorse and prolonged failure. It is a record also of endurance, of survival, of adaptation and creativity in the face of overwhelming obstacles. It is a record of enormous contributions to this country — to its art and culture, to its strength and spirit, to its sense of history and its sense of purpose.
>
> It is long past time that the Indian policies of the Federal government began to recognize and build upon the capacities and insights of the Indian people. Both as a matter of justice and as a matter of enlightened social policy, we must begin to act on the basis of what the Indians themselves have long been telling us. The time has come to break decisively with the past and to create the conditions for a new era in which the Indian future is determined by Indian acts and Indian decisions. (Nixon, p. 565)

This policy was operationalized in regard to education with the passage of the Indian Education Act in 1972 and the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act in 1975. In the face of subsequent changes in administration, budget cuts, and doubts about the place of minorities in the United States, this policy of self-determination has survived and led to American Indians and Alaska Natives reasserting their right to control the education of their children and maintain their languages and cultures.

Native American Languages Act

The Congress of the United States in the Native American Languages Act of 1990 confirmed these aspirations by recognizing that the status of the cultures and languages of Native Americans is unique and the United States has the responsibility to act together with Native Americans to ensure the survival of these unique cultures and languages. It accorded special status to Native Americans in the United States, a status that recognizes distinct cultural and political rights, including the right to continue separate identities.

Congress found the traditional languages of Native Americans to be an integral part of their cultures and identities and form the basic medium for the transmission, and thus survival, of Native American cultures, literatures, histories, religions, political institutions, and values. Furthermore Congress found convincing evidence that student achievement and performance, community and school pride, and educational opportunity are clearly and directly tied to respect for, and support of, the first language of the child. Languages are the means of communication for the full range of human experiences and are critical to the survival of cultural and political integrity of any people.

Congress thus declared it is the policy of the United States to preserve, protect, and promote the rights and freedom of Native Americans to use, practice, and develop Native American languages. Congress encouraged and supported the use of Native American languages as a medium of instruction in order to encourage and support Native American language survival, educational opportunity, increased student success and performance, increased student awareness and knowledge of their culture and history, and encouraged State and local education programs to work with Native American parents, educators, Indian tribes, and other Native American governing bodies in the implementation of programs to put this policy into effect.[1]

INAR Task Force & White House Conference

In 1990 the Indian Nations At Risk Task Force appointed by the U.S. Secretary of Education, using former President George Bush's six National Education Goals as a starting point, established a set of ten educational goals to guide the improvement of all federal, tribal, private, and public schools that serve American Indians and Alaska Natives and their communities. Goal 2 reads "By the year 2000 all schools will offer Native students the opportunity to maintain and develop their tribal languages and will create a multicultural environment that enhances the many cultures represented in the school." The Task Force's co-chairs wrote:

---

[1] The text of the Native American Languages Act can be found starting on page 69.

> The Task Force believes that a well-educated American Indian and Alaska Native citizenry and a renewal of the language and culture base of the American Native community will strengthen self-determination and economic well-being and will allow the Native community to contribute to building a stronger nation — an America that can compete with other nations and contribute to the world's economies and cultures. (Indian Nations at Risk Task Force, 1991, p. iv)

They identified as one of the reasons that Indian Nations are at risk the fact that "schools have discouraged the use of Native languages . . . [with the result that] the language and culture base of the American Native are rapidly eroding." The Task Force found, "schools that respect and support a student's language and culture are significantly more successful in educating those students" (p. 16) and recommended "establishing the promotion of students' tribal language and culture as a responsibility of the school" (p. 22).

Following up the work of the Task Force, the first-ever White House Conference on Indian Education was held in Washington, D.C. in 1992. Building on the work of state preconferences, the White House Conference delegates adopted 113 resolutions covering a variety of topics. Under Topic 7, Native Languages and Culture, the Conference called on "the President of the United States and the U.S. Congress to strengthen and increase support for the language and culture of American Indians and Alaskan Natives" through a number of actions including ensuring "the strengthening, preservation, and revival of native languages and cultures [and] to permit students to learn their tribal language as a first or second language" (Summary of Resolutions, 1992).

International Year for the World's Indigenous People

The concerns of American Indians and Alaska Natives are not unique, but rather concerns of indigenous peoples worldwide. In recognition of this fact, the United Nations has recognized both the predicament and aspirations of indigenous minorities by declaring 1993 the International Year for the World's Indigenous People. The 1993 UN Draft Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples affirms their right to self-determination and "the right to practice and revitalize their cultural traditions and customs," including their languages. The current policy of Indian Self-Determination in the United States, while not perfect, approaches the ideal of freedom and cultural democracy envisioned in the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The renewal of traditional Native cultures in and out of school is re-establishing a sense of community and is fighting the materialistic, hedonistic, and individualistic forces of the popular culture. American Indian concerns about land, culture, and community are concerns that all Americans need to share if we are to assure a future for our children.

The work of the Indian Nations at Risk Task Force and the White House Conference on Indian Education shows the results of Indian people expressing to the U.S. government their vision of how their children should be educated while the work of the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations shows the international scope of this vision. They want both educational excellence and preservation of their languages and cultures.

Tribal Language Policies

Non-Indian Americans need to respect and support American Indian and Alaska Native peoples' rejection of the old assimilationist approach to Indian education. This rejection can be found in the educational policies of various tribes, including Navajo, Northern Ute, and Pasqua Yaqui policies passed in 1984. Then Tribal Chairman Peterson Zah declared in the preface to the Navajo tribal education policies,

> We believe that an excellent education can produce achievement in the basic academic skills and skills required by modern technology and still educate young Navajo citizens in their language, history, government and culture. (Navajo Division of Education, 1984, p. vii)

These policies call for local control, parental involvement, and Navajo language instruction. They state,

> The Navajo language is an essential element of the life, culture and identity of the Navajo people. The Navajo Nation recognizes the importance of preserving and perpetuating that language to the survival of the Nation. Instruction in the Navajo language shall be made available for all grade levels in all schools serving the Navajo Nation. (Navajo Division of Education, 1984, p. 9)

Anita Pfeiffer and Wayne Holm of the Navajo Nation's Education Division declared in 1994, "that our work with the language has not been work just on language in isolation. It has been part of a far larger effort to restore personal and societal wellness" (p. 35). Language wellness is a measure of tribal societal wellness. Without access to their mother-tongue, Native children are cut off from their elders and the traditional community and family values that are their rightful heritage.

The Northern Ute Tribal Business Committee passed resolution 84-96 in 1984 declaring,

> the Ute language is a living and vital language that has the ability to match any other in the world for expressiveness and beauty. Our language is capable of lexical expansion into modern conceptual fields such as the field of politics, economics, mathematics and science.
>
> Be it known that the Ute language shall be recognized as our first language, and the English language will be recognized as our second language. We assert that our students are fully capable of developing fluency in our mother tongue and the foreign English language and we further assert that a higher level of Ute mastery results in higher levels of English skills. (Northern Ute, 1985, p. 16)

The resolution also requires Ute language instruction in preschool through twelfth grade.

The language policy passed by the Pascua Yaqui Tribal Council holds that "Our ancient language is the foundation of our cultural and spiritual heritage" and declares that "all aspects of the educational process shall reflect the beauty of our Yaqui language, culture and values" (Pascua, 1984, p. 1).

Conclusion

This rationale and needs statement in no way completely describes the needs and concerns of all nations and peoples whose languages are endangered. It is a collective work done by representatives of several nations, educators, and others involved in American Indian and Alaska Native education. We apologize to you if your concerns are not voiced in this document, but offer that this will be an ongoing process and we would appreciate your comments and advice.

Several courses of action could greatly assist American Indian communities in developing the effective right to maintain their languages. Such actions include: 1) fostering of new, innovative, community-based approaches to strengthen and stabilize threatened languages; 2) directing more research efforts toward analyzing community-based successes in resisting loss of Native American languages and other minority languages as well; 3) fostering communication and partnerships between communities and organizations trying new approaches to maintaining languages; and 4) promotion of heightened consciousness of the catastrophic effects of language loss, both among members of language minority populations and among members of the mainstream population. Unfortunately, the human and financial resources needed to stabilize or restore American Indian languages extend beyond the resources of nearly all Indian communities. Because of the federal and state governments' long-term role in creating the present endangered status of American Indian and Alaska Native languages, it is appropriate for them to provide assistance in helping American Indians and Alaska Natives to stabilize and renew their languages.

References

Atkins, J.D.C. (1887). *Annual report of the commissioner of Indian affairs to the secretary of the interior for the year 1887*. Washington: Government Printing Office.

Baker, C. (1988). *Key issues in bilingualism and bilingual education*. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Bernard, H. R. (1992). Preserving language diversity. *Human Organization, 51*(1), 82-89.

Collier, V. (1989). How long? A synthesis of research on academic achievement in a second language. *TESOL Quarterly, 23*, 509-531.

Cummins, J. (1989). *Empowering minority students*. Sacramento, CA: California Association for Bilingual Education.

Fishman, J. A. (1991). *Reversing language shift: Theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages*. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Henze R. C., & Vanett, L., (1993). To walk in two worlds — or more? Challenging a common metaphor of Native education. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 24*(2), 116-134.

Indian Nations at Risk Task Force. (1991, October). *Indian nations at risk: An educational strategy for action* (Final report of the Indian Nations at Risk Task Force). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education.

Littlebear, D. (1990). Keynote address. In J. Reyhner (Ed.), *Effective language education practices and native language survival* (pp. 1-8). Choctaw, OK: Native American Language Issues. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. 342 512)

Native American Languages Act of 1990, §104, 25 U.S.C. 2901-2906.

Navajo Division of Education. (1984). *Navajo Nation: Educational policies*. Window Rock, AZ: Navajo Division of Education.

Nixon, R. (1971). Special message to the Congress on Indian affairs. In *Public papers of the presidents of the United States, Richard Nixon, containing the public messages, speeches, and statements of the president, 1970*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Northern Ute Tribe. (1985). Ute language policy. *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, 9(2), 16-19.

Oberly, J. H. (1885). In *Annual report of the commissioner of Indian affairs to the secretary of the interior for the year 1885* (pp. lxxv-ccxxv). Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Pascua Yaqui Tribal Council. (1984). *Yaqui language policy for the Pascua Yaqui tribe: Policy declaration.* Tucson, AZ: Tucson Unified School District.

Pfeiffer, A. & Holm, W. (1994). Laanaa Nisin: Diné education in the year 2004. *Journal of Navajo Education, 11*(2), 35-43.

Platt, J. (1989). Some types of communicative strategies across cultures: Sense and sensitivity. In O. Garcia & R. Otheguy (Eds.), *English across cultures — Cultures across English* (pp. 13-29). New York, NY: Mouton de Gruyter.

Prucha, F. P. (1973). *Americanizing the American Indians.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.

Ramirez, D. (1992). Executive summary. *Bilingual Research Journal, 16*(1), 1-62.

Report of Indian Peace Commissioners. (1868, January 7). House of Representatives, 40th Congress, 2nd Session, Executive Document No. 97. (Serial Set, 1337, Vol. 11, No. 97).

Reyhner, J. (1990). A description of the Rock Point Community School bilingual education program. In Jon Reyhner (Ed.), *Effective language education practices and native language survival* (pp. 95-106). Choctaw, OK: Native American Language Issues.

Scollon R., & Scollon, Suzanne, B.K. (1981). *Narrative, literacy and face in interethnic communication.* Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Summary of resolutions adopted January 24, 1992. (1992). Washington, DC: The White House Conference on Indian Education.

Tennant, E. (1993). The "Eye of Awareness": Probing the hidden dimension of bilingual education. In *Proceedings of the Third National Research Symposium on Limited English Proficient Student Issues* (Vol. 1, pp. 279-306). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education: Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs.

Thornton, Russell. (1987). *American Indian holocaust and survival: A population history since 1492.* Norman: University of Oklahoma.

Weatherford, J. (1988). *Indian givers: How the Indians of the Americas transformed the world.* New York: Crown.

Weatherford, J. (1991). *Native roots: How the Indians enriched America.* New York: Crown.

Status of Native American Language Endangerment

Michael Krauss[1]

Speaking of the sacredness of things, I honestly believe, as a linguist who is supposed to view languages as objects of scientific study, that somehow or other they elude us, because every language has its own divine spark of life. Philosophers have said that languages are, in fact, forms of life. I believe that. As I have said before, a hundred linguists working for a hundred years could not get to the bottom of a single language. I never heard any linguist disagree with that statement. Yes — and a hundred Navajo linguists working a hundred years on Navajo still, I am sure you would all admit, would not get to the bottom of Navajo. It certainly would help, though, if there were a hundred Navajo linguists working a hundred years on Navajo. Let us hope that Navajo and other such languages will be around for a hundred years.

Language survival is the central topic that I wish to address here today. First I recall an incident that occurred when I had the privilege of appearing at the hearings on the Native American Language Act of 1992 before the Senate Committee, a bill sponsored by Senators Inouye of Hawaii and Murkowski of Alaska. Senator Inouye introduced the subject by saying that there are still a lot of Native American languages around. In fact, he said — and I was impressed by this — there must be fifty or sixty such languages. Perhaps he was thinking in terms of the number of states — most people do not even think that many. Senator Inouye comes from a state that has only one indigenous language, Hawaiian, but that language is in a very serious situation, as are most other indigenous languages. It was my pleasure in testifying to correct the senator: instead of fifty or sixty Native American Languages, there are in fact about two hundred, maybe two hundred and ten, different North American languages still spoken by peoples of the United States and Canada. That is out of the total of over three hundred pre-contact languages originally spoken. So, perhaps two-thirds of Native North American languages are still around. That is an heroic achievement considering the odds that they have faced.

How much longer, though, will these remaining languages survive? That concern brings me here to Flagstaff, because it is up to us more than anybody else to help save these languages. No one today is actively punishing people, as far as I know, for speaking their language in school. Now people are losing their languages further, because they have been brainwashed for generations by English-only policy and pressure in the schools to give up their languages, unnecessarily, in the process of learning English. For their languages, they have been turned into their own worst enemies.

---

[1] Dr. Michael Krauss is a former president of the Society for the study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas and is currently Director of the Alaska Native Language Center at the University of Alaska, Fairbanks.

Out of over three hundred languages, two hundred and ten are left, but for how much longer? We need to assess the viability of those languages in terms of what I consider the most crucial factor: namely, are children learning these languages in the traditional way, the best way, that has worked since time immemorial for uncountable generations. I would categorize in viability Category A those languages that are still being learned by children in the traditional way.

Category A is unfortunately now the smallest category in North America. About 175 of the 210 languages are spoken in the United States; the other 35 are in only Canada. Out of those 175 languages in the United States, only about 20, or eleven percent, are still being learned by children from their parents and elders in the traditional way. Things are somewhat better in Canada, where about 30 percent of the indigenous languages are still spoken by children. This improves the North American total, but Category A remains the smallest.

The second category is Category B, with about thirty languages, seventeen percent, in both the United States and Canada. These are languages still spoken by the parental generation, who could theoretically turn around and start speaking their native language instead of English to their children but generally they do not. Category B is the second smallest category.

The largest categories by far, unfortunately, are Categories C and D. Category C consists of languages spoken by the middle-aged or grandparental generation and up only. Note that I am not citing the number of speakers, since it does not really make that much difference if such a language has a million speakers or only a hundred. If a language of a million people is not spoken by anyone under fifty, then it is not going to last very much longer than such a language spoken by a hundred people. A large number of speakers in itself does not assure survival. Category C languages are found in about the same percentage in the United States and Canada.

Category D languages are those spoken only by a few of the very oldest people. These elders often do not have the chance to talk much to each other. The language may be completely out of use, or it may be only remembered, so not quite extinct. California is the state that has by far the largest number of indigenous languages in North America. Approximately forty of these languages are still remembered by at least one or two people in their eighties.

Category C includes about 70, or 40 percent, of our languages in the United States, and Category D about a third. Whereas the United States has a very small number of Category A languages still spoken by children, Canada has a much smaller number of Category D (nearly extinct) languages.

Indigenous Languages in the United States

Native languages are still spoken to some degree in twenty-nine, maybe thirty, of the fifty states in the U.S. I shall proceed with a quick regional survey. In Hawaii, until very recently, virtually no one under the age of seventy could still speak Hawaiian, except the residents of the one small privately owned and very isolated island, Ni'ihau. These residents numbered around 200, including about thirty Hawaiian-speaking children. The rest of the state is approaching Category D level. Hawaii is the only one of our states that has its own single native language, which before the U.S. takeover was powerful and prestigious.

In Alaska there are only two languages still spoken by children. Siberian Yupik is the only one spoken by everyone in two villages of about one thousand people altogether on St. Lawrence Island. Central Yupik is the largest language in Alaska, and children speak that language in 16 of 60 villages. There are 18 other languages in Alaska with no children speakers. The Arctic wilderness is by no means exempt from the language devastation that we see in the rest of the United States. Moreover, in the entire Northwest or Pacific Coast no Native American language is still spoken by children, and nearly none belongs in even Category B. Only in the Southwest are many Native American languages relatively viable and vital. In Arizona and New Mexico we find that Cocopah, Havasupai, Hualapai, Yaqui, Hopi, Navajo, Tohono O'odham, Western Apache, Mescalero, Jemez, Zuni, some Tiwa, some Keresan are still spoken by at least some children. How much longer can these languages remain in Category A, as still spoken by children?

In the rest of the United States some Cherokee is still spoken in Oklahoma, farther east the Alabama language is spoken in Louisiana, it is similar to Choctaw, which is spoken in Mississippi. Choctaw is still spoken by children, and we could learn a lot by finding out why this is so after so many years of contact. There are other languages still spoken by elders in the east — for example, Pasamaquoddy in Maine and several Iroquoian languages in New York. Considering the history of that part of our country, it is a miracle that they are still there at all.

The last category is Category E, consisting of languages that are extinct. There is some question from the point of view of the Administration for Native Americans, which administers funding under the Native American Languages Act of 1992, as to whether programs should be funded to revive languages that are entirely extinct, but for which there is good documentation. Those are certainly a small minority of the over 100 extinct North American languages.

World Languages

Native North American languages are about three percent of the world's languages at present. There are approximately six thousand languages still spoken by mankind, plus or minus maybe 10%, depending on how you define language as opposed to dialect. The best information comes from the Summer Institute of Linguistics' *Ethnologue*, which does a better job than any other single book of listing the world's languages, their number of speakers, and their viability. I estimate that between twenty and fifty percent of the 6,000 are no longer spoken by children or will no longer be spoken by children by the end of this century. By the year 2000, between twenty and fifty percent of the world's languages will be in Category B or worse. For the languages then still spoken by children, the question is for how much longer.

The only way to calculate the enormity of the endangerment is to calculate how many of the world's languages can be considered "safe," i.e., will continue to be learned by children in the traditional way for the foreseeable future. Of the six thousand or so languages spoken on earth, I would say that perhaps three hundred to five hundred can still be considered "safe." Some have such large numbers, over a million, of speakers, so that they could not easily die out fast. However, let us not forget that Breton had a million speakers in living memory, and is now spoken by very few, if any, children. It is thus difficult to name a threshold of safety in sheer numbers.

Most of the world's two hundred or so sovereign nations have English, French, Arabic, or Spanish as their official language, and there is maybe a total of a hundred more national or regional official languages, but these largely overlap with those languages actually spoken by a million or more persons, which number two hundred and some. We can, therefore, assume that at best a total of about three hundred languages are "safe" by having a million or more speakers and/or state support. These represent only about five percent of the world's languages. Even if we could find that six hundred — double that number — are "safe," that would be only ten percent of the total.

Between the twenty to fifty percent of the world's languages already no longer spoken by children and the five to ten percent of the world's languages considered "safe" are forty to seventy-five percent of the world's languages that can be considered (merely) endangered. These languages are still spoken by children alright, but mass communication and social change threaten them severely. Their fate depends of what people do, not just on what governments do. However, there are many countries in the world where the languages are still being persecuted and hounded out of existence.

The country that has the most languages on earth is Papua New Guinea. What is happening or is going to happen to its eight hundred some languages? Indonesia, including Irian Jaya, now has over seven hundred languages. Little is allowed to be known of what is happening in Indonesia. Nigeria has four hundred and ten languages, and India has three hundred and eighty. Language diversity is concentrated very unevenly around the world. Note also that those areas of language diversity tend to be in the same areas where biodiversity is concentrated. That is precisely where bulldozers and ethnocides are doing their work today.

Conclusion

Why should we care about what is happening? Here are four reasons. First, there is the aesthetic reason. Each language has its own beauty. The world would be a less beautiful and less interesting place if we had fewer languages. In other words, does mankind live by bread alone, is not beauty essential to human existence? We sense this is so in some very deep, non-trivial way.

Second, there is the scientific reason. Theoretical linguists need to study the greatest possible variety of human languages, not just English and as a countercheck, say, Japanese. That could be called a trivial and self-serving argument of linguists, who might want to keep languages around at the public expense just so they can study them. However, language diversity also includes the knowledge of the world that is embedded in every language, which we cannot afford to lose. Languages contain traditional wisdom, for example of medicinal plants — which tree has bark that may prevent cancer, but the name of that tree is about to become extinct. Diversity also includes the fact that each language has a different way of seeing the world in its grammar. The death of any language diminishes our ability to think in different ways.

Third, there is the ethical argument. Who gets to choose which languages survive and which do not? We brutishly seem to be allowing "survival of the fittest" to prevail over human rights in this matter, even though as human beings we are also supposed to be endowed with reason and the ability to control our impulses and plan rationally for the future.

The fourth reason, most important of all, for preserving languages is that just as we are beginning to understand the world, the biosphere we live in, as a web of life, an ecosystem, on which our physical survival depends, so should we understand that our intellectual and linguistic diversity also forms a system necessary to our survival as human beings. Our lack of concern for indigenous languages implies that we have now reached some new Babel-like pinnacle of wisdom that allows us to make this unilateral and irrevocable decision to let ninety some percent of our languages go. Have we truly reached that stage of wisdom? I do not think so. I think we had better let posterity to decide, by transmitting to future generations what has been given to us in the best shape we can.

How can we do this in our part of the world? First, realistic assessments need to be made. What is the state of a language in a given community; what age groups can speak it? Second, realistic goals need to be set for the programs that are appropriate to the state of the community's language. If, for example, the children do not speak the language, then the only way to bring the language back into living, fluent use by the children is to put them in some kind of immersion program, rather than to schedule fifteen minutes a day of writing the names for animals on a blackboard.

Children learn to swim in the water, not in a classroom. One could even get a Ph.D. in swimming and write a book about it, then jump in the water and drown. Anybody who has had four years of high school French and then gone to Paris has probably had a similar experience. The academic approach has its own value, but it does not, by itself, produce a vital living language.

After two thousand years of no native speakers of Hebrew, a century ago the first few native speakers were raised. That is a social miracle, and it was not done without trial and commitment. People have to have the will to do that. Languages are apparently different from biological species in this way, since it is possible to revive them. For the survival and revival of Hebrew, the deep devotion to the academic approach had great value.

Finally, I note around here that people are not doing some of the things they need to do to save their languages because they are in a state of denial about language loss. They are blinding themselves to the danger threatening their languages, because of the painful process they went through, being punished in school, for example, for speaking their language and being educated with so much English and with none of their own language that it takes extra effort to speak it now. Denial is a key word. I believe it now represents the most important barrier that impedes the stabilization, revival, and maintenance of our languages.

Aboriginal Language Maintenance, Development, and Enhancement: A Review of Literature[1]

Barbara Burnaby

This paper offers a general review of literature relating to the maintenance, development, and enhancement of Aboriginal languages in North America, especially Canada. Following current Canadian practice, the term 'Aboriginal languages' will refer to the descendants of those languages that were spoken in North America before the coming of Europeans. It is comparable to the terms 'Native American languages' in the United States, and 'indigenous languages' in Latin America. I start with an outline of several concepts, mostly from sociolinguistics, that are useful for the purposes of thinking about language maintenance. Next, the current status of Aboriginal languages in Canada is considered through census figures and other broad data, indicators of factors that influence language change, scales of language vitality, and comparisons with recent immigrant language groups in North America. Then, there is a longer section on matters relating directly to interventions for active maintenance of Aboriginal languages. The main topic is language in education, but other areas are touched on such as Aboriginal people's values concerning their ancestral languages, policies on minority languages, literacy in Aboriginal languages, and community activities for language development. Finally, the situation of Aboriginal languages outside of North America is reviewed.

Concepts about Language Change

When many speakers of two or more languages are in regular and significant contact, it is likely over time that the speakers and the languages will change in some way. Both languages might hold their own; one might give way entirely or partially to the other; or a new language may be formed. Bratt Paulston (1986, pp.123-125) gives three examples of types of situations in which two languages are maintained in one community over time, but she says that "Maintained group bilingualism is unusual" (p. 121). According to Fishman (1976, p. 110), "No society needs or has two languages for the same functions. As a result, no society, not even those whose bilingualism has been most widespread and most stable, raises its children with two mother tongues." It is through the bilingualism of individuals and their changes in behavior that languages as a whole change. Shift from one language to another is more common than long-term maintenance of two languages depending on social conditions, attitudes, and values in the situation (Bratt Paulston 1986, p. 121, 124). Factors such as marriage between people from the two groups, geographic moves of speakers (especially away from isolated communities), small numbers of speakers of one language, general domination of one group by another, and many others are often thought to contribute to the shift from one language to another, but generalizations about the effects of such factors is risky (Fishman, 1976, pp. 121-140, 179).

---

[1] This review was originally written to focus extensively on issues relating to a specific group of Canadian Aboriginal languages. For present purposes, the text has been considerably condensed and aimed at issues that might concern any of North America's Aboriginal languages. Because space is limited here, only the basic gist of topics and publications is given, with maximum attention to references that could be pursued further by readers to follow up on their own questions. For the full presentation see New Economy Development Group. (1993). *Evaluation of the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement for French and Aboriginal languages of the Northwest Territories*. Ottawa: Author.

Individuals' language behavior and use of a language may change, but the language itself may change as well, for example in its sound system, vocabulary, and/or grammar (Weinreich, 1968). One possibility is the formation of a new language, like Michif from French and Cree. Some languages may be eroded slowly by another through borrowing of vocabulary and grammatical deterioration (e.g., Mailhot (1985) on Montagnais; Miller (1971) on Shoshoni). However, some languages may resist borrowings (e.g., Basso (1967) on Apache). 'Indian English,' that is, forms of English produced by Aboriginal/English contact, shows a kind of shift in English (e.g., Nelson-Barber, 1982; Miller, 1982; Fleischer, 1982; Leap, 1982b; Darnell, 1993).

Finally, it should be noted that when languages are in the process of shifting, especially if one language looks as if it will not survive, people associated with the languages in question tend to take passionate attitudes to them (Bratt Paulston, 1986, p. 120). Therefore, one can expect highly polarized rhetoric, and contradictions between rhetoric and actual behavior in the language communities in question. Skutnabb-Kangas (1986) casts doubt on interpretations of research data on minority education because of researchers' polarized views on the matter.

Levels of Aboriginal Language Maintenance

Numbers of Speakers

A general sense of the degree to which Aboriginal languages are being maintained in North America can be gleaned from numbers collected through national censuses and surveys. Up to the 1980s, numbers of speakers of individual Aboriginal languages in North America had only been calculated on the basis of linguists' estimates (e.g., Chafe, 1965; Foster, 1982). Since 1981, the Canadian census has categorized individual Aboriginal languages separately rather than under the two previous headings of Amerindian and Inuit. An analysis of the 1981 census data by Burnaby and Beaujot (1986) showed that a number of Canada's approximately 60 Aboriginal languages probably had as few as 100 speakers, and that only Cree, Ojibwa, and Inuktitut had more than 10,000 speakers. The most shocking comparison was the historical percentages of Aboriginal people who had an Aboriginal language as their mother tongue. In 1951 it was 87.4 per cent, but in 1981 it was just 29.3 per cent.

In 1991, Statistics Canada (1993) conducted a special national survey of Aboriginal peoples in which detailed language questions were asked. It indicated that 36 per cent of adults surveyed (over age 15) and 21 per cent of children spoke an Aboriginal language. Fifty-one percent of adults and 71 per cent of children reported never having spoken an Aboriginal language (Table 2.1).

In 1990, the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) published the results of a language survey it conducted by getting estimates from community leaders on a rationalized sample of First Nations (in effect, Indian reserves). It showed 48 per cent of the individuals in these locations to be fluent speakers of an Aboriginal language. Individual languages were ranked on a `state of health' scale. In 1988-89, the Saskatchewan Indigenous Languages Committee (1991) and the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre conducted a door-to-door sociolinguistic survey of 20 selected communities with significant Aboriginal populations in Saskatchewan. It showed the Aboriginal languages in only three of the communities to be in good health. The 1991 Statistics Canada, the AFN, and the Saskatchewan surveys collected data on language use and resources as well as speaker fluency. Data from censuses and surveys are problematic because of sampling and analysis issues as well as the fact that they report on what people **think** about their own and others' language use rather than on direct and systematic observation of language in use.[1] However, while the numerical results of all these studies were somewhat inconsistent, the trends concerning language maintenance and loss were similar.

---

[1] See Krauss in this monograph for a discussion of the state of denial that some groups are with regard to the immanent demise of their native language.

National Surveys of Language Maintenance

What kinds of factors seem to influence the loss or maintenance of Aboriginal languages? Findings from the Burnaby and Beaujot (1986) study of census figures indicate the greatest maintenance of Aboriginal language "among people who live in isolated, small communities and who tend not to change their place of residence. Historical length of [Euro-Canadian] contact with Aboriginal people as indicated by east-west or north-south location does not seem to be as strong a factor; for example, Nova Scotia shows higher Aboriginal language maintenance than the Yukon" (p. x). Higher Aboriginal language use is related to lower education, those not in the labor force, and those with lowest incomes. Also, women show less Aboriginal language maintenance than men (pp. x-xi). The AFN (1990) survey suggests that Aboriginal languages are most maintained in isolated communities and those with larger populations. Communities close to urban centers and small rural communities had the lowest Aboriginal language retention.

In terms of language maintenance efforts, these figures are important in indicating priorities for maintenance action (e.g., first or second language emphasis) in individual communities and areas. Given the overwhelming shift towards English (and towards French in parts of Quebec), it seems imperative to work hard even on Cree, Inuktitut, and Ojibwa, since it seems that all Aboriginal languages are at risk.

Scales of Aboriginal Language Vitality

The fact that many North American Aboriginal languages have declined significantly and that some have become extinct in this century has prompted linguists to develop scales indicating the vitality of languages. Wick Miller (1972) classified languages as flourishing, obsolescing, obsolete, or dead. Each level has characteristics relating to whether the children learn the language, what adults speak among themselves in various settings, and how many native speakers there are left. Bauman (1980) created a five level scale describing languages as flourishing, enduring, declining, obsolescing, and extinct. He added factors such as literacy in the Aboriginal language, and the adaptability of the language to new conditions. Bauman's scale has been adapted for use in classifying the health of Aboriginal languages in surveys such as the AFN and Saskatchewan surveys described above. In order to apply such scales, one needs not only numbers of speakers, but also the age of speakers, functions of Aboriginal languages and English in the community, indicators of adaptability of the Aboriginal language to changing contexts, and the role of Aboriginal literacy in the community. Conducting a survey to include all these factors adds considerably to the complexity and expense of the data collection and analysis.

Maintenance of Languages Compared

It is clear that Aboriginal groups in North America have maintained their languages to a greater extent than any of the immigrant groups other than English, French, or Spanish speaking. That there are still speakers of most of the original Aboriginal North American languages is impressive testimony to their ability to survive. Most immigrant groups stop using their ancestral languages after two or three generations despite the fact that many are supported by incoming immigrants. Bratt Paulston (1981, p. 476), using a model based on Schermerhorn (1970), accounts for this by describing Aboriginal populations as being in a relationship with the majority society of "forced assimilation with resistance" which tends toward conflict.

Leap (1981) and Wardhaugh (1983) provide detailed descriptions of the history of U.S. and Canadian Aboriginal languages (respectively) in relation to the contemporary development of other languages. According to logic and various historical accounts, the Aboriginal populations and the newcomers with whom they shared the continent were not greatly different with respect to the dynamics of non-English language maintenance, formal European-style education, and literacy in English and their minority languages until the late 1800s or even well into the 1900s. Walker (1981), using literacy as a focus, gives a sense of how the power balance between the Anglo majority and many Aboriginal groups might have changed during the past 150 years or so.

Active Strategies for Aboriginal Language Maintenance

Values and Support for Endangered Languages

Fishman (1989, p. 401) says that "Language policy on behalf of endangered languages must assure the intimate vernacular [home and personal] functions first, and, if possible, go on from there, slowly building outward from the primary [e.g., home] to the secondary [e.g., community and perhaps workplace] institutions of intergenerational mother-tongue continuity." The extent to which forces (e.g., economic) in the majority society conflict with this priority is important. By pointing out that there are always other considerations than the minority language issues at hand, Fishman puts his finger on the inherent tensions in minority language maintenance situations.

There are a number of sources which indicate that many Aboriginal people think that the maintenance of Aboriginal languages is central to the expression of Aboriginal cultures (e.g., Cassidy, 1992, pp. 10-11). However, there are also indications that people in Aboriginal communities are torn or ambivalent about the value of Aboriginal language maintenance programs (e.g., Saskatchewan Indigenous Languages Committee, 1991, pp. 156, 186; Assembly of First Nations, 1990, p. 27; Shkilnyk, 1986, pp. 45, 77; Leap, 1981, p. 138). Policies and attitudes in the majority society have actively repressed Aboriginal languages or at least have made adults feel that their language is at best useless or at worst a deterrent to education and employment. The creation of a sense that there is a one-to-one tradeoff between English and the Aboriginal languages is greatly problematic.

Three Texts on Aboriginal Language Renewal

Three texts have provided general guidance on Aboriginal language retention in the U.S. They are Bauman's *A guide to issues in Indian language retention* (1980), Leap's "American Indian languages" chapter in Ferguson and Brice Heath's *Language in the U.S.A.* (1981) and St. Clair and Leap's collection of articles, *Language renewal among American Indian tribes: Issues and problems* (1982). Bauman's book includes his scale of language vitality mentioned above. He also stresses having realistic goals, the self-esteem value of Aboriginal language study even in situations where the language is dying (see also Dorian, 1987), the need for parents to speak the language to children, and the essential role of community in creating and implementing policies. Leap describes various kinds of Aboriginal language programs, talks about contradictions in policies, and stresses the need for basic language research, functional writing systems, staff training, teaching materials, and evaluation. The St. Clair and Leap book provides context specific examples of issues and solutions that have come up in various actual Aboriginal language programs. All three of these texts point out that each program is unique to its setting and should be designed to fit its context.

Aboriginal Language Renewal and Schooling

General Policies and Program Provisions

Explicit initiatives for Aboriginal language maintenance and renewal end up in schools more often than in any other place. From an international perspective, Churchill's (1986) study of educational policies for linguistic and cultural minorities in the 25 countries in the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) permits us a view of how Aboriginal languages are treated generally in many different countries. Compared with 'established minorities' (e.g., Acadian French in the U.S. or Welsh in Great Britain), or 'new minorities' (e.g., immigrant groups in North America), 'indigenous peoples' (e.g., Samit in northern Europe, Australian Aboriginal peoples, Maoris and Pacific Islanders in New Zealand, Native Americans, and others) come out very low in the six level scale Churchill developed on problem definition in educational policy for linguistic and cultural minorities. He says "the analysis concluded that the particular problems of indigenous peoples are among those most poorly dealt with in all jurisdictions" (p. 153). He continues "The problems of indigenous peoples stand out as the most intractable faced by education today. Priority should be given to the study of their needs, placing emphasis on their own role in defining their own needs" (p. 164). In another paper based on the same data, Churchill (1987) sees issues of indigenous groups, along with race, religion, and sex, as "areas of taboo" in public policy discussion. Corson (1992), incorporating Churchill's six point scale, fleshes out the scale on the dimension of racial injustice issues in educational programs for Aboriginal peoples and others in a number of countries. He strongly advocates community control of language and educational policies. Burnaby (1980) and Tschantz (1980) describe historical policy development relevant to Aboriginal languages in Canada.

Two recent studies provide an overall picture of the numbers and characteristics of Aboriginal language programs in schools in Canada. The most comprehensive is a survey on Aboriginal education in general by the Canadian Education Association using a sample of all reserve schools and about 500 provincial schools (Kirkness & Bowman, 1992). Overall, about one-third reported teaching an Aboriginal language, with higher levels in reserve schools and lower in provincial schools depending largely on proportions of Aboriginal students in the school. Reserve schools tended to start Aboriginal language teaching as early as pre-school, and the general tendency in all schools was to stop teaching it by grade eight. Only four per cent of the sample used an Aboriginal language (mostly Inuktitut in the Northwest Territories) as language of instruction (pp. 43-44).

The second survey was the AFN Aboriginal language survey (1990) mentioned above. It related only to reserve schools and communities. In addition to school statistics, comparable to those of Kirkness and Bowman, it included reports of community viewpoints such as the wish to have the Aboriginal language taught through secondary school, for the language to have the same standing and accreditation in the school as French, for better and more traditional teaching methods, for integration with other Aboriginal cultural teaching, for the involvement of elders, for the goal to be real fluency, and for more materials and better trained instructors (pp. 35-37). About 80 per cent of communities in which the Aboriginal language was flourishing or enduring had Aboriginal language school programs, but only about 20 per cent of those communities in which the language was doing the worst had language programs (p. 35). The report also states that "Where Aboriginal language is the primary language of instruction the goal is one of transition to the official language rather than maintenance of the mother tongue" (p. 33). Finally, from a question about where in the community the Aboriginal language was used, it was found that the school was the place the Aboriginal language was used **the least**, even in those communities that had flourishing Aboriginal languages (p.33). Also, the report concludes that "The fact that [Aboriginal] languages are not used in most of the communities surveyed effectively negates efforts of language personnel" (p. 37).

In sum, there is a lot of activity in Aboriginal language programming in schools for Aboriginal children, but the patterns of provision reinforce Churchill's (1986) findings that policies for indigenous groups are largely at the lower levels of his scale of policy development if most programs are for the youngest children, only for a few years, inadequately funded, and if even bilingual programs are seen to be transitional to fluency in the majority language. Although there are many more programs available now than in 1980, the current survey data would give the same impression as Clarke and MacKenzie (1980a) got in their survey of Aboriginal language programs in 1980, namely that Aboriginal language programs give only lip service to pluralist approaches and that they are assimilationist in intent.

Descriptions of Specific Programs

A moderate amount of documentation exists on Aboriginal language programs in schools in individual communities and regions. Phillips (1985) discussed educational programs policies and funding for the Canadian provinces (but not territories) in a study more widely focused on Aboriginal language retention. Csapo and Clarke (n.d.) surveyed Aboriginal language programs in British Columbia, Howard (1983) in the Northwest Territories, and Shkilnyk (1986) provides a great deal of information on Aboriginal language activities in schools and communities across Canada. Regarding programs specifically for children who come to school speaking an Aboriginal language, Rosier and Holm (1980) report on a Navajo medium program, Stairs (1985, 1988a) on ones in Inuktitut, and Kirkness (1976) on Cree programs. Theoretical frameworks for Montagnais (in Quebec) and Cree (in Ontario) medium programs are given by Drapeau (1983) and Faries (1989, 1991) respectively. Burnaby, Nichols, and Toohey (1980) discuss survey results from Cree and Ojibwa speaking communities in Ontario with recommendations on both Aboriginal languages and English in the schools. Programs using an Aboriginal language as medium of instruction for children who do **not** speak it (immersion programs) are discussed by Shkilnyk regarding Mohawk (1986, pp. 61-62), and Battiste regarding Micmac (1987). Fredeen (1988) outlines a model for Cree immersion in Saskatchewan.

Teachers and Their Training

The AFN 1990 survey discussed the planning and resources context for Aboriginal language programs in schools on reserves, and noted lack of funding, trained instructors, and curriculum and materials as the greatest problems (p. 22). Paynter and Sanderson (1991) show how provincial educational authorities can work with Aboriginal organizations in training Aboriginal language teachers. Stairs (1988b) discusses complex issues surrounding training and support for Aboriginal teachers who will work in schools which aim to attend to both mainstream and Aboriginal values and language. Comprehensive surveys of Aboriginal teacher education were conducted by More (1980), who was generally optimistic, and Clarke and MacKenzie (1980b), who were more pessimistic about the results. Implications for Aboriginal language teacher training appear in many of the articles in Burnaby (1985).

Research, Materials, and Evaluation

Lickers (1988) gives the steps necessary to ground Aboriginal language program policy in the necessary research. Bauman (1980, p. 46) and Leap (1981, p. 143) discuss background research and development that are necessary as a basis for Aboriginal language materials. It was emphasized in the AFN 1990 survey report (p. 26) that Aboriginal language teachers, who usually cannot network among themselves, have to create most of their materials themselves and are therefore always stressed for resources. A few examples of Aboriginal language materials development strategies are: using fluent speakers to create reading materials for a school program (Mitchell 1985); using local leadership to mobilize community resource people to help with an Aboriginal language immersion program (Shkilnyk, 1986, p. 61); and incorporating culturally appropriate behaviors into materials and teaching strategies for Aboriginal children (Leavitt, 1991; Stairs, 1991).

With respect to Aboriginal program evaluation, More (1984) and Hébert (1987) emphasize, among other things, the need for special methodologies and sensitivity to the goals and contexts of the community. Ahenakew (1988) and Leap (1981) specifically discuss the importance of evaluation in Aboriginal language education. As for evaluation of individual student progress in Aboriginal language programs, Manuel-Dupont (1987) gives a thorough review of language assessment literature in general and to contextual issues in Aboriginal education but does not mention measures that would be required if the children's Aboriginal language proficiency were to be evaluated. Bauman (1980, p. 45), on the other hand, gives general guidance for student assessment in the Aboriginal language.

Literacy in Aboriginal Languages

A writing system of some sort has been developed for virtually all Aboriginal languages in North America, but most only in the past century or so. Walker (1981) provides an overview of such systems with an emphasis on those that were created or widely adopted by Aboriginal groups. Burnaby and MacKenzie (1985) and Shearwood (1987) describe Aboriginal and mainstream languages used in Aboriginal community contexts. Zaharlick (1982) points out that there is controversy in some Aboriginal communities concerning whether the Aboriginal language should be written at all, as well as whether Aboriginal languages should be used in schools. She notes that proponents of writing in Aboriginal languages see one of its values to be the preservation of the languages (p. 44).

The AFN's 1990 survey on Aboriginal languages, based on estimates by community leaders and from only a sample of communities, reports seven percent Aboriginal language literates among the total population surveyed with about 38 per cent literacy among fluent speakers of Aboriginal languages (p. 21). Seventy per cent of the communities surveyed said that they had access to a writing system; seven per cent said that they did not know whether they did or not. The 1991 national survey (Statistics Canada, 1993, Table 2.1) found that 36 per cent of adults fluent in an Aboriginal language were literate in that language. Adult Inuktitut speakers were reported as over 90 per cent literate, while speakers of other languages showed much lower levels. Data on types of media used, writing as well as reading literacy, and who taught the skills was provided.

Academic literature contains many discussions on the technical aspects of orthography development for Aboriginal languages. Bauman (1980, p. 46) points out that many such academic writing systems are not practical for community use. A collection of articles on the implementation of Aboriginal language orthographies in Canada (Burnaby 1985) covers a wide range of issues on making writing systems really useful in Aboriginal communities. Most training programs for Aboriginal language teachers in Canada have a strong component in them on literacy for the language teachers (Hilbert & Hess, 1982). In Quebec, there was for a number of years a program that trained fluent speakers of Aboriginal languages in literacy, education, and research skills so that they could work on field research and development of their languages, including orthographies (MacKenzie 1985; Shkilnyk, 1986, pp. 64-65). Leap (1982a) provides a helpful insight on the role of non-Aboriginal linguists and other professionals in the current climate of local control over language resources and their development.

In an atmosphere of growing concern in Canada about literacy levels in English and French in the general population, a number of studies commissioned by the Canadian federal and provincial governments on 'Aboriginal literacy' have dealt only with literacy in English and French among Aboriginal peoples (e.g., Rodriguez & Sawyer, 1990). The Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs of the House of Commons (1990) has issued a report on `Aboriginal literacy' that addresses Aboriginal language (but not literacy) and culture as one thing and literacy in English and French among Aboriginal peoples as another with some tenuous connections between them. This kind of stance needs to be counteracted in policy development.

Other Areas of Aboriginal Language Development

A broad spectrum of Aboriginal language activities has been noted under the heading of education, but others outside of schools remain to be considered. The AFN 1990 survey collected information about language used in the sample communities in everyday conversation, cultural ceremonies, churches, radio and television, government reports, community meetings, and the justice system (p. 21). When the results were broken down by level of fluency in the Aboriginal language in the community, it is clear that those communities which had the highest levels of fluency were those with the most Aboriginal language services (e.g., newspapers, radio/television, community meetings, government publications, and in the justice system)(p. 33). The AFN made recommendations about community and school Aboriginal language development activities designed for the levels of fluency in different communities (pp. 33-34). The Statistics Canada survey (1993) shows similar data on print and electronic media use, language use at work, and access to health, social or legal services in Aboriginal languages (Table 2.1).

Further research and discussion of Aboriginal language development outside of school contexts appear in White (1983, 1984) on activities in the Walpole Island community, and Burnaby (1984) on a broad range of Aboriginal language undertakings and resources in Ontario. Finally, returning to the family as a central institution in language maintenance, Upper and McKay (1987) provide rare data on the language development of a child growing up in an Oji-Cree speaking family.

Aboriginal Language Maintenance in Other Countries

The report on the AFN survey (1990) included a brief literature review about Aboriginal language developments in the U.S., Australia, and New Zealand (pp. 6-9). Beyond broad descriptions of policies and programs, it is difficult to work out what might be comparable and what might not between these countries and Canada. The clearest point is that Australia has lost a much higher proportion of its original

Aboriginal languages than Canada has. MacPherson (1991), in reviewing Aboriginal education in Canada from an administrative and legislative perspective, also did a quick review of comparable experience in New Zealand, Australia, and the United States. He concludes that the situation for Australian Aboriginal peoples is "truly abysmal" (p. 15) and that "the actual operation of Indian education systems in the United States is quite poor, just as it is in Canada" (p. 17). He is more enthusiastic, however, about the language and cultural potential of the Kohanga Reo ('language nests' or community language preschools) in New Zealand (p. 14) and suggests that Canada study that approach (p.44). Benton (1978, 1981) provided a detailed description of language education for indigenous peoples in Australia, New Zealand, Polynesia, and Micronesia. He notes the colonial influence of both France and Great Britain in the area. New Zealand differs somewhat from the others in that at least token recognition of Maori has been made. In a 1986 article, he describes the rapid development of the Kohanga Reo since their inception in 1982. Finally, Jordan (1988) has written a complex description of educational policies for Canadian Aboriginal peoples, the Sami, and Australian Aborigines. Identity and self-determination are more in focus than language, but the background history and social struggles are important for comparing the three groups of people.

Conclusions

In light of the complexity of information so briefly reported on here, drawing conclusions is not easy. However, four points seem to arise from the positions taken in the material reviewed. One is that, no matter what the circumstances, the Aboriginal community must be the central decision maker in any initiative on Aboriginal language maintenance. This requirement is challenging given that it appears that there is a considerable difference of opinion on important matters in many Aboriginal communities to say nothing of the complexity of bureaucratic jurisdiction for Aboriginal education. Secondly, there is always a complex of issues to be resolved in Aboriginal communities, the maintenance of the Aboriginal language perhaps being only one of many strongly valued priorities. The consolation is that, if programs for Aboriginal language maintenance fail, other important goals may still be achieved through the effort. Third, the support of the majority culture, and particularly policy makers, is essential in making Aboriginal language policies work. Fighting institutionalized discrimination requires a major, directed effort. Finally, a lot of work needs to be done for each of Canada's Aboriginal languages in terms of language research, language resource development, teaching materials development, teacher training and the training of other relevant language resource people, curriculum development that really reflects the interests of the community, orthography development and implementation, community activities that support the use of the language, and other endeavors. If the community is willing to include them, there are useful roles for school officials and academics to play in this process, but community control is paramount.

References

Ahenakew, Freda. (1988). "Program evaluation and quality control" in Native language education. *TESL Canada Journal, 5*(2), 51-55.

Assembly of First Nations. (1990). *Towards linguistic justice for First Nations.* Ottawa: Assembly of First Nations, Education Secretariat.

Basso, Keith. (1967). Semantic aspects of linguistic acculturation. *American Anthropologist, 69*, 471-477.

Battiste, Marie. (1987). Mi'kmaq linguistic integrity: A case study of a Mi'kmawey school. In Jean Barman, Yvonne Hébert, & Don McCaskill (Eds.), *Indian education in Canada: Volume 2: The challenge* (pp. 107-125). Vancouver: University of British Columbia.

Bauman, James. (1980). *A guide to issues in Indian language retention.* Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Benton, Richard. (1978). Problems and prospects for indigenous languages and bilingual education in New Zealand and Oceania. In Bernard Spolsky & Robert Cooper (Eds.), *Case studies in bilingual education* (pp. 126-166). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Benton, Richard. (1981). *The flight of the Amokura: Oceanic languages and formal education in the South Pacific.* Wellington, New Zealand: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

Benton, Richard. (1986). Schools as agents for language revival in Ireland and New Zealand. In Bernard Spolsky (Ed.), *Language and education in multilingual settings* (pp. 53-76). Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Bratt Paulston, Christina. (1981). Bilingualism and education. In Charles Ferguson & Shirley Brice Heath (Eds.), *Language in the USA* (pp. 469-485). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University.

Bratt Paulston, Christina. (1986). Linguistic consequences of ethnicity and nationalism in multilingual settings. In Bernard Spolsky (Ed.), *Language and education in multilingual settings* (pp. 117-152). Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Burnaby, Barbara. (1980). *Languages and their roles in educating Native children.* Toronto: OISE Press.

Burnaby, Barbara, Nichols, John, & Toohey, Kelleen. (1980). *Northern Native Languages Project. Final report.* Sioux Lookout, Ontario: Northern Nishnawbe Education Council.

Burnaby, Barbara. (1984). *Aboriginal languages in Ontario.* Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Education.

Burnaby, Barbara (Ed.). (1985). *Promoting Native writing systems in Canada.* Toronto: OISE Press.

Burnaby, Barbara & MacKenzie, Marguerite. (1985). Reading and writing in Rupert House. In Barbara Burnaby (Ed.), *Promoting Native writing systems in Canada* (pp. 57-81). Toronto: OISE Press.

Burnaby, Barbara & Beaujot, Roderic. (1986). *The use of Aboriginal languages in Canada: An analysis of 1981 Census data.* Ottawa: Social Trends Analysis Directorate and Native Citizens Directorate, Department of the Secretary of State.

Cassidy, Michael, Ginger Group Consultants. (1992). *Public hearings: Overview of the first round; Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.* Ottawa: Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.

Chafe, Wallace. (1965). Corrected estimates regarding speakers of Indian languages. *International Journal of American Linguistics, 31,* 345-346.

Churchill, Stacy. (1986). *The education of linguistic and cultural minorities in the OECD countries.* Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Churchill, Stacy. (1987). Policy development for education in multicultural societies: Trends and processes in the OECD countries. In CERI/OECD, *Multicultural Education* (pp. 64-99). Paris: CERI/ OECD.

Clarke, Sandra, & MacKenzie, Marguerite. (1980a). Education in the mother tongue: Tokenism versus cultural autonomy in Canadian Indian schools. *Canadian Journal of Anthropology, 1*(2), 205-217.

Clarke, Sandra, & MacKenzie, Marguerite. (1980b). Indian teacher training programs: An overview and evaluation. In William Cowan (Ed.), *Papers of the Eleventh Algonquian Conference* (pp. 19-32). Ottawa: Carleton University.

Csapo, Marg, & Clarke, Bryan. (n.d.). *Native Indian language programming in British Columbia.* Unpublished manuscript, University of British Columbia, Vancouver.

Corson, David. (1992). Bilingual education policy and social justice. *Journal of Education Policy, 7*(1), 45-69.

Darnell, R. (1993). Functions of English in southwestern Ontario Native discourse: The basis of traditional language maintenance and revival. In Wm. Cowan (Ed.) *Papers of the Twenty-fourth Algonquian Conference* (pp. 81-96). Ottawa: Carleton University.

Dorian, Nancy. (1987). The value of language-maintenance efforts which are unlikely to succeed. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language 68*, 57-67.

Drapeau, Lynn. (1983). *Le Montagnais comme langue d'enseignement dans les écoles de Betsiamites: Le projet pilote, objectifs et cadre théorique*. Betsiamites, Quebec: Centre des Services Educatifs.

Faries, Emily. (1989). Language education for Native children in northern Ontario. In J. Esling (Ed.), *Multicultural education and policy: ESL in the 1990s: A tribute to Mary Ashworth* (pp. 144-153). Toronto: OISE Press.

Faries, Emily. (1991). *Language education for northern Native children: A case study*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of Toronto.

Fishman, Joshua. (1976). *Bilingual education: An international sociological perspective*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Fishman, Joshua. (1989). *Language and ethnics in minority sociolinguistic perspective*. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Fleisher, Mark. (1982). The educational implications of American Indian English. In Robert St. Clair & William Leap (Eds.), *Language renewal among American Indian tribes* (pp. 141-148). Rosslyn, VA: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education.

Foster, Michael. (1982). Canada's indigenous languages: Present and future. *Language and Society, 7*, 7-16.

Fredeen, Shirley. (1988). *A foundation for Cree immersion education*. Unpublished masters dissertation. University of Saskatchewan.

Hébert, Yvonne. (1987). Evaluation of Indian education: Issues and challenges. In Jean Barman, Yvonne Hébert, & Don McCaskill (Eds.), *Indian education in Canada: Volume 2: The challenge* (pp. 228-249). Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia.

Hilbert, Vi, & Hess, Thom. (1982). The Lushootseed Language Project. In Robert St. Clair & William Leap (Eds.), *Language renewal among American Indian tribes* (pp. 71-89). Rosslyn, VA: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education.

Howard, Philip. (1983). History of the use of Dene languages in education in the Northwest Territories. *Canadian Journal of Native Education, 10*(2), 1-18.

Jordan, Deirdre. (1988). Rights and claims of indigenous people: Education and the reclaiming of identity: The case of Canadian Natives, the Sami and Australian Aborigines. In Tove Skutnabb-Kangas & Jim Cummins (Eds.), *Minority education: From shame to struggle* (pp. 198-222). Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Kirkness, Verna. (1976). *Manitoba Native bilingual program*. Ottawa: Indian and Eskimo Affairs Program, Education and Cultural Development, Indian and Northern Affairs.

Kirkness, Verna, & Bowman, Sheena. (1992). *First Nations and schools: Triumphs and struggles.* Toronto: Canadian Education Association/ Association canadienne d'éducation.

Leap, William. (1981). American Indian languages. In Charles Ferguson & Shirley Brice Heath (Eds.), *Language in the USA* (pp. 111-115). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University.

Leap, William. (1982a). Roles for the linguist in Indian bilingual education. In Robert St. Clair & William Leap (Eds.), *Language renewal among American Indian tribes* (pp. 19-30). Rosslyn, VA: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education.

Leap, William. (1982b). Semilingualism as a form of linguistic proficiency. In Robert St. Clair & William Leap (Eds.), *Language renewal among American Indian tribes* (pp. 149-159). Rosslyn, VA: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education.

Leavitt, Robert. (1991). Language and cultural content in Native education. *The Canadian Modern Language Review, 47*(2), 266-279.

Lickers, Keith. (1988). Native languages and the role of research in formulating language policy. *TESL Canada Journal, 5*(2), 20-26.

MacKenzie, Marguerite. (1985). Spelling reform among the James Bay Cree. In Barbara Burnaby (Ed.), *Promoting Native writing systems in Canada* (pp. 49-55). Toronto: OISE Press.

MacPherson, James. (1991). *Tradition and education: Towards a vision of our future.* Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

Mailhot, José. (1985). Implementation of mother-tongue literacy among the Montagnais: Myth or reality? In Barbara Burnaby (Ed.), *Promoting Native writing systems in Canada* (pp. 17-26). Toronto: OISE Press.

Manuel-Dupont, Sonia. (1987). Setting up a language assessment program for Native American children. In Freda Ahenakew and Shirley Fredeen (Eds.), *Seventh Annual Native American Languages Institute: Our languages: Our survival: Proceedings* (pp. 125-154). Saskatoon: Sask.: Saskatchewan Indian Languages Institute.

Miller, Mary. (1982). English acquisition by monolingual and bilingual Pima Indian children. In Robert St. Clair & William Leap (Eds.), *Language renewal among American Indian tribes* (pp. 133-140). Rosslyn, VA: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education.

Miller, Wick R. (1971). The death of language or serendipity among the Shoshoni. *Anthropological Linguistics, 13*(3), 114-120.

Miller, Wick R. (Winter, 1972). Obsolescing languages: The case of the Shoshoni. *Language in American Indian Education*, 1-14.

Mitchell, Mary. (1985). Syllabic literacy: The first year. In Barbara Burnaby (Ed.), *Promoting Native writing systems in Canada* (pp. 89-94). Toronto: OISE Press.

More, Arthur. (1980). Native Indian teacher education in Canada. *Education Canada*, 32-41.

More, Arthur. (July 27, 1984). *Quality of education of Native Indian students in Canada: A review of research*. Paper presented to the Mokakit Indian Education Research Conference, London, Ontario.

Nelson-Barber, Sharon. (1982). Phonologic variations of Pima English. In Robert St. Clair & William Leap (Eds.), *Language renewal among American Indian tribes* (pp. 115-132). Rosslyn, VA: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education.

Paynter, Florence, & Sanderson, Esther. (1991). No title. Paper presented at the Native American Languages Institute Issues Conference, Prince George, BC.

Phillips, Sondra. (1985). *Aboriginal languages in Canada: A research report*. Unpublished report, Department of the Secretary of State, Ottawa.

Rodriguez, Carmen, & Sawyer, Don. (1990). *Native literacy research report*. Vancouver: Province of British Columbia, Ministry of Advanced Education, Training and Technology.

Rosier, Paul, & Holm, Wayne. (1980). *The Rock Point experience: A longitudinal study of a Navajo school program (Saad Naaki Bee Na'nitin). Papers in Applied Linguistics, Bilingual Series: 8.* Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.

St. Clair, Robert, & Leap, William. (Eds.). (1982). *Language renewal among American Indian Tribes: Issues, problems, and prospects*. Rosslyn, VA: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education.

Saskatchewan Indigenous Languages Committee. (1991). *Sociolinguistic survey of Indigenous languages in Saskatchewan: On the critical list*. Saskatoon, Sask.: Saskatchewan Indigenous Languages Committee.

Schermerhorn, R.A. (1970). *Comparative ethnic relations: A framework for theory and research*. New York: Random House.

Shearwood, Perry. (1987). Literacy among the Aboriginal peoples of the Northwest Territories. *The Canadian Modern Languages Review*, *43*(4), 630-642.

Shkilnyk, Anastasia. (1986). *Canada's Aboriginal languages: An overview of current activities in language retention*. Unpublished report, Department of the Secretary of State, Ottawa.

Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove. (1986). Who wants to change what and why — conflicting paradigms in minority education research. In Bernard Spolsky (Ed.), *Language and education in multilingual settings* (pp. 153-181). Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Stairs, Arlene. (1985). The developmental context of Native language literacy: Inuit children and Inuktitut education. In Barbara

Burnaby (Ed.), *Promoting Native writing systems in Canada* (pp. 33-48). Toronto: OISE Press.

Stairs, Arlene. (1988a). Beyond cultural inclusion: An Inuit example of indigenous educational development. In Tove Skutnabb-Kangas & Jim Cummins (Eds.), *Minority education: From shame to struggle* (pp. 308-327). Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Stairs, Arlene. (1988b). Reply to John Langdon's position paper. *TESL Canada Journal, 5*(2), 82-87.

Stairs, Arlene. (1991). Learning processes and teaching roles in Native education: Cultural base and cultural brokerage. *The Canadian Modern Languages Review, 47*(2), 280-294.

Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs. House of Commons. (1990b). *"You took my talk": Aboriginal literacy and empowerment: Fourth report*. Ottawa: House of Commons.

Statistics Canada. (1993). *1991 Aboriginal peoples survey: Language, tradition, health, lifestyle and social issues*. Catalogue No. 89-533. Ottawa: Statistics Canada, Post Censal Surveys Program.

Tschantz, Linda. (1980). *Native languages and government policy: An historical examination*. London, Ont.: Centre for Research and Teaching of Canadian Native Languages, The University of Western Ontario.

Upper, Mary, & McKay, Modina. (1987). The acquisition of Oji-Cree as a first language: A preliminary study. In Freda Ahenakew & Shirley Fredeen (Eds.), *Seventh Annual Native American Languages Institute: Our languages: Our survival: Proceedings* (pp. 169-196). Saskatoon: Sask.: Saskatchewan Indian Languages Institute.

Wardhaugh, Ronald. (1983). Unheard voices. *Language and nationhood: The Canadian experience* (Chapter 10). Vancouver: Star Books.

Walker, Willard. (1981). Native American writing systems. In Charles Ferguson & Shirley Brice Heath (Eds.), *Language in the USA* (pp. 116-144). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University.

Weinreich, Uriel. (1968). *Languages in contact: Findings and problems*. The Hague: Mouton.

White, Lena. (1983). Native language revival program on Walpole Island. In Jim Cummins (Ed.), *Heritage Language Education: Issues and Directions: Proceedings of a conference organized by the Multiculturalism Directorate of the Department of the Secretary of State, Saskatoon* (pp. 73-74). Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada.

White, Lena. (1984). *Teachers speak: A Native language survey report: An attempt to determine needs and strategies for language development*. Unpublished masters research paper, York University, Toronto, Ontario.

Zaharlick, Amy. (1982). Native Americans and literacy. In Robert St. Clair & William Leap (Eds.), *Language renewal among American*

Indian Tribes (pp. 43-47). Rosslyn, VA: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education.

Section II

Language Policy

William Demmert
Robert Arnold
Facilitators

November Roundtable
Native American Language Policy Group Abstract

Recommendations:

1. Native American children must be exposed to a stimulating language, cultural, and learning environment.
2. Native children must be provided with equal schooling opportunities early in the educational process, in order to learn their Native languages as well as learning English and other languages.
3. Proficiency in two or more languages must be promoted for all Native American students.
4. Students must have an early access to teachers who are proficient Native language speakers.
5. Native American tribes, parents, schools, and universities must form partnerships for Native language development.
6. Opportunities for the economic development of individuals and tribes in collaboration with businesses and scientific, artistic, commercial, and industrial enterprises must be encouraged, initiated, expanded, and supported.
7. Procedures for the identification of students with special needs, including the gifted and talented, must reflect Native American tribal linguistic, social, and cultural values and practices.
8. For the use and survival of indigenous languages and cultures, it is essential to encourage access to modern telecommunications technology.

Strategies:

1. Encourage local initiatives to carry out policies in support of indigenous languages and cultures.
2. Build national and regional Native consortiums.
3. Propose legislative recommendations to appropriate House and Senate legislators and committees.
4. Submit recommendations to Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), U.S. Department of Education, and other agencies that support Indian education.
5. Encourage partnerships between organizations interested in supporting Native education, language and culture (e.g., National Advisory Council for Indian Education, National Indian Education Association, and so forth).
6. Capitalize on America 2000 and Improving America's Schools Act requirements to develop local education plans with tribal/state agencies that coordinate federal programs serving schools and tribes.
7. Encourage the reorganization of colleges of education involved in teacher preparation and recruitment.
8. Support successful language renewal and development projects.
9. Require research funding to include the development and promotion of assessment instruments and procedures consistent with tribal and cultural values.

Native American Language Policy Group Summary

After a brief discussion, the policy group[1] agreed to focus on the following priorities:

- Foundations of current Native American language policies
- Sources of funding for Native American language programs
- Guiding principles for language development and schooling
- Policy recommendations
- Strategies for carrying out recommendations

I. Foundations of Current Native American Language Policies

Bob Arnold provided a summary of national and international policies affecting Native American languages, as well as policies under consideration (but not yet adopted) by the United Nations. These included:

1. *Lau v. Nichols* (414 U.S. 563 [1974]) — A decision by the U.S. Supreme Court holding that public schools have an obligation to provide appropriate instruction for children who are limited in English, so as to overcome language barriers and ensure equal access to the curriculum.

2. Native American Languages Act of 1990 (P.L. 101-477) — A federal law declaring that Native Americans have a right to use their own languages and that it is U.S. government policy to preserve, protect, and promote the development of Native American languages. Further, the Act calls upon federal agencies, states, and other institutions to take appropriate steps to carry out this policy.

3. Native American Languages Act of 1992 (P.L. 102-524) — A federal law establishing a program of grants to tribes and other Native American organizations to support a wide range of activities aimed at ensuring the survival and continued vitality of Native American languages.

---

[1] Policy group facilitators were Bob Arnold, Democratic staff, Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs, and William Demmert, Western Washington State University. Policy group participants included Keith Carreiro, Kathy Crum, Lorene Legah, Daniel Nez Martin, Joe Martin, Teresa McCarty, Bill Palcich, Verma M. Pastor, Anita Bradley Pfeiffer, Dang T. Pham, Katie Stevens, Hector Tahu, Alice Tracy, Philbert Watahomigie, Sr., and Amelia G. Watson.

4. Bilingual Education Act, as reauthorized by Title VII of the Improving America's Schools Act of 1994 (P.L. 103-382) — A federal law whose provisions recognize the special situation of endangered Native American languages and give wide latitude to schools and tribal organizations in planning and carrying out bilingual education programs funded under the Act. It further authorizes priority consideration for development and production of high-quality instructional materials for Native American students.

5. International Labor Convention No. 169 — A United Nations Declaration, not yet ratified by the United States, which declares, in part:

> Children belonging to the peoples concerned shall, wherever practicable, be taught to read and write in their own indigenous language or in the language most commonly used by the group to which they belong. When this is not practicable, the competent authorities shall undertake consultations with these peoples with a view to the adoption of measures to achieve this objective.
>
> Adequate measures shall be taken to ensure that these people have the opportunity to attain fluency in the national language or in one of the official languages of the country.
>
> Measures shall be taken to preserve and promote the development and practice of the indigenous languages of the peoples concerned. [Article 28]

6. Draft Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples — A United Nations proposal, not yet passed or ratified, which declares, in part:

> Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons. . . . States shall take effective measures whenever any right of indigenous peoples may be threatened to ensure this right is protected and also to ensure that they can understand and be understood in political, legal and administrative proceedings, where necessary through the provision of interpretation or by other appropriate means. [quoted in *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, Spring 1994, p. 66]

II. Sources of Funding for Native American Language Programs

William Demmert provided an overview of existing legislation and programs available for language and cultural programs. These included:

1. Competitive grants specifically authorized for Native American language programs, awarded by the following federal agencies:

- Administration for Native Americans (under the Native American Languages Act of 1992)
- Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (under Title VII, Improving America's Schools Act)
- National Park Service (Keepers of the Treasures program)
- National Endowment for the Humanities (as well as humanities councils in various states)

2. Grants available for a wide range of educational programs, which may include Native American language programs, from the following federal sources:

- Bureau of Indian Affairs educational funding under the Snyder Act and the Johnson-O'Malley Act
- Department of Education funding for schools with students residing on Indian lands, under Impact Aid (P.L. 81-874)
- Department of Education formula grants to tribes and local school districts under Title IX of the Improving America's Schools Act
- Department of Education funding for programs to help disadvantaged students under Title I of the Improving America's Schools Act

3. Provisions of Goals 2000: Educate America Act (P.L. 103-227) requiring that states receiving federal funds for school reform develop comprehensive plans for meeting the needs of all students, including Native American students. The law also requires coordination with programs funded under the Improving America's Schools Act and with school reform plans by local school districts.

III. Guiding Principles for Language Development and Schooling

Policy makers at all levels must hear Native people: their voices, their beliefs, and their being. Local and regional autonomy must be central to building an effective consensus, thereby ensuring the full vision of a participatory democracy at all levels of policy, programs, and practice. The following guiding principles, to be effective, must be planned in accordance with the school and community contexts in which they operate:

1. Native American children (American Indian, Native Alaskan, and Native Hawaiian) must be exposed early in their lives to a stimulating Native language, cultural, and learning environment that is consistent with the best tribal and early childhood practices available (Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1976; *Indian nations*, 1991).
2. Native children must be provided with equal schooling opportunities early in the educational process for learning their Native languages as well as for learning English and other languages (*Indian nations*, 1991; *White House conference*, 1992).
3. Proficiency in two or more languages must be promoted for all Native students. Learning more than one language enhances cognitive development, social growth, and the ability to communicate and promote understanding among diverse peoples and cultures (Northwest Regional Education Laboratory, 1990; Hakuta et al., 1993).
4. Students must have early access to teachers that are proficient Native American language speakers, who are capable of expanding the domains of tribal languages into content areas such as mathematics, sciences, social studies, art, and vocational applications (Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, 1990; *Indian nations*, 1991).
5. Native American tribes, parents of young children, schools, and universities must form partnerships to provide the best home and school environments possible for young children to acquire and develop Native American language skills (*Indian nations*, 1991; Goals 2000, 1994).

IV. Policy Recommendations

1. Educational opportunities and economic development for individual and tribal efforts with business, scientific, artistic, commercial, and industrial enterprises must not only be initiated and encouraged but expanded and supported. This should be done through mentoring, accounting and pricing systems, investment strategies, attracting businesses, marketing, and apprenticeships.
2. Partnerships between businesses/industries and colleges/universities must be created to ensure that Native American professional capacities are built to support Native tribal and community self-sufficiency and to help society in general. This recommendation applies to engineers, business people, scientists, medical professionals, artisans, technicians, crafts people, and university and school personnel.
3. In order to provide high-quality services and to avoid harmful labeling and placement, special services involving diagnosis, therapy, treatment, or remediation must take into account the language and cognitive basis of the Native American environment. Procedures for the

identification of special-needs students, including the gifted and talented, must appropriately reflect Native American tribal, linguistic, social, and cultural values and practices.

4. To promote the use and survival of indigenous languages and cultures, it is essential to encourage their access to modern telecommunications technology; legislation shaping the new media must include provisions for the preservation and promotion of Native American languages.

5. The spiritual perspective of Native American languages must be an assumption held constant and common to language learning and teaching.

6. The Working Group in the Draft Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples should strengthen provisions relating to indigenous languages — the rights not only to use these languages but to help ensure their survival.

7. Given the imperiled condition of more than 100 Native American languages in the United States, the U.S. Department of Education should ensure that Title VII, Section 7122 of the Improving America's Schools Act is construed to provide applicants wide latitude to achieve their language-preservation goals.

8. The United States should promptly review International Labor Convention No. 169 in order that it may be ratified as a formal statement of national policy.

9. The Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs and the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education should develop a directory of federal programs that support Native American language preservation.

10. Indigenous American Indian, Native Alaskan, and Native Hawaiian languages must be recognized as legitimate areas for academic study and for meeting general language requirements by public schools, colleges, and universities.

V. Strategies for Carrying Out Recommendations

1. Encourage local initiatives to carry out policies and programs in support of indigenous languages and cultures.

2. Build national and regional Native consortiums.

3. Propose legislative action to appropriate House and Senate members and committees.

4. Submit recommendations to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of Education, Department of Health and Human Services, and other agencies that support Indian education and language and culture programs.

5. Encourage partnerships between the National Advisory Council for Indian Education, National Indian Education Association, National Indian School Boards Association, Native American Language Issues

Institute, National Tribal Chairman's Association, American Indian Language Development Institute, and other organizations interested in supporting Native American education, language, and cultural priorities.

6. Capitalize on Goals 2000 and Improving America's Schools Act requirements for coordinating tribal, state, and local education plans with federal programs serving Native American students.

7. Encourage the reorganization of colleges of education involved in teacher preparation to incorporate instructional strategies, content, and technology that directly promote Native American languages and cultures, and to actively recruit and retain Native speakers in programs of teacher preparation.

8. Support successful language renewal and development projects that are consistent with the values, priorities, and language needs of Native communities.

9. Require research funding to include the development and promotion of assessment instruments and procedures which incorporate and coincide with tribal languages and cultural values.

10. Transmit the report of this Roundtable to the National Advisory Commission on Indian Education, the National Indian Education Association, the Native American Language Issues Institute, and other national Native organizations.

References

Bureau of Indian Affairs, U.S. (1976). *Young Native Americans and their families: Educational needs assessment and recommendations.* Washington, DC: Author.

Hakuta, Kenji, et al. (1993). *A blueprint for the second generation: Report of the Stanford Working Group on federal education programs for limited-English-proficient students.* Stanford, CA: Stanford Working Group.

Indian nations at risk: An educational strategy for action. (1991). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education.

Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory. (1990). *Language development: A base for educational policy planning.* Portland, OR: Author.

White House conference on Indian education: Final report. (1992). Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

OBEMLA's Commitment to Endangered Languages

Dang T. Pham, Deputy Director, OBEMLA

It is very good for me to get out of Washington at this point and to come to Arizona. This is my first time in Flagstaff, but it is the fourth time in Arizona. I think as a former refugee from Viet Nam, I understand clearly what the issue is when your language is not being used every day; I know very well that sense of losing something. So it is natural and proper that I have a commitment and that I work for the U.S. Department of Education's Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (OBEMLA), which shares my commitment to help American Indians to regain and preserve some type of education in their own language.

Before I get into my remarks, I would like to bring the greetings of the White House, of Secretary Riley of the Department of Education, Dr. Eugene García, and the entire staff of OBEMLA.

On October 20, 1994, President Clinton went to Framingham, Massachusetts, to sign into law the Improving America's Schools Act of 1994, which people sometimes refer to as the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). You should know that ESEA was passed by the House of Representatives on September 30 by a large majority vote, 262 to 132, and finally in the Senate, 77 to 20. With only 56 Democrats in the Senate, we nevertheless got 77 votes, which shows tremendous efforts by both sides of the aisle to prove to you that the administration's education bill is not just a Democrat issue or a Republican issue, but an American issue. I think that set the whole tone of the ESEA, which now becomes law.

[*The Deputy Director then launched into a discussion and explanation of the new ESEA, and especially the new connections between Title I (formerly Chapter I), Title VII (Bilingual Education), and Title IX (Indian Education). The changes shift much more responsibility to the states and local schools and communities, loosening direct control and long-distance decisions from Washington. However, the changes have little effect on our concerns for indigenous language stabilization. The Deputy Director concluded with an interesting account of his own history in this country, including his studies at Boston College, his work for Governor Dukakis in Massachusetts, his involvement in the governor's campaign for the presidency in 1988, and his recruitment in 1991 by Governor Clinton of Arkansas for his campaign in 1992. Following are his concluding remarks, which Dr. Joshua Fishman immediately recognized as making this evening's program "an historic occasion."*] Dr. Pham continued:

On behalf of OBEMLA, we are very proud to be part of this university's efforts to revitalize the indigenous languages of Indian communities, and we assure you that we certainly have a commitment to make this happen. Remember, this is the first time ever in the history of the Department of Education that something like this has happened.

Seven Hypotheses on Language Loss Causes and Cures[1]

James Crawford

After reporting on bilingual education and the English-only movement for the past ten years, I am still amazed by the enormous gap between popular attitudes about language and scientific realities about language, as documented by researchers and educators. Especially ironic is the claim that the dominance of English is threatened in the United States today by the encroachment of other tongues. Many Anglo-Americans worry that minority language speakers are refusing to assimilate, owing to the influence of ethnic separatists and to government programs such as bilingual education, bilingual voting, and bilingual social services, which appear to enable people to live here without learning English. Since the early 1980s, such fears have nourished a movement to declare English the official language at both state and federal levels. Without such legislation, its advocates warn, U.S. national unity will be eroded as language diversity continues to increase and the hegemony of English continues to decline. This perception is widespread, as reflected by public opinion polls and by statements from the new Republican leadership in Congress, which now insists that English needs "legal protection" — that is, legislation to make it the sole medium of government functions.

Objective evidence, however, indicates quite the reverse. It is not English, but minority languages that are threatened in this country. Back in the early 1980s, the demographer Calvin Veltman (1983) completed the most extensive analysis of linguistic assimilation ever conducted in the United States. He concluded that, without the replenishing effects of immigration, all languages other than English would gradually die out in this country, with the possible exception of Navajo. And, I regret to report, Veltman would probably drop that qualifier today, following two decades of rapid erosion for Navajo and other Native American languages.

How do we know when a language is threatened? One obvious sign is that the number of its speakers is declining, as exemplified by most Native American and "old immigrant" (i.e., European) languages in the U.S.A. Other symptoms include:

---

[1] This paper is adapted from a speech given on May 4, 1995, at the second Symposium on Stabilizing Indigenous Languages held at Northern Arizona University. Copyright © 1996 by James Crawford. All rights reserved.

- fluency in the language increases with age, as younger generations prefer to speak another (usually the dominant societal) tongue;
- usage declines in "domains" where the language was once secure — e.g., in churches, cultural observances, schools, and most important, the home;
- growing numbers of parents fail to teach the language to their children.[1]

When I first started writing about bilingual education in the mid-1980s, language loss was not perceived as a major problem among tribes such as the Navajo, Hualapai, Crow, and Tohono O'odham, which still have large numbers of native speakers, at least among adults. But in the last five years or so, educators are noticing a sharp decline in native language skills among the children of these tribes.

---

[1] These more subtle indicators of loss, which are evident in most if not all minority language communities in the U.S.A., are usually overlooked by Anglo-Americans, especially those who are alarmed by the rising populations of immigrants. They have trouble grasping the paradox we face today. On the one hand, language diversity is increasing rapidly because of two demographic factors: (1) relatively high levels of immigration, following half a century of tight immigration restrictions, and (2) higher birth rates among non-English-speaking groups, who are younger, on average, than the general U.S. population. So speakers of certain minority languages, notably Spanish, are projected to increase substantially over the next twenty years.

On the other hand, the shift toward English is proceeding more rapidly than ever before. While the number of immigrants is increasing, these new arrivals are losing their languages at record rates. Around the turn of this century, it typically took three generations for this "Anglicization" process to occur among newcomers to our shores; now, according to Veltman, we are approaching a two-generation model of linguistic assimilation. This is true even for fast-growing languages such as Spanish. Among the children of Hispanic immigrants, 70 percent become dominant or monolingual in English, although this trend is typically masked by the continual arrival of new Spanish-speaking immigrants. It is quite noticeable, however, in areas where relatively few newcomers are settling (e.g., northern New Mexico, where Spanish is fighting for survival, notwithstanding its viability there for nearly four centuries).

For Native Americans, of course, the problem is even more acute. Since their languages are indigenous to this continent, there are no reinforcements coming in from elsewhere. For native peoples, language loss is forever. Moreover, I would argue that this phenomenon — while harmful to any community — is especially devastating to indigenous cultures, which rely heavily on oral traditions.

It seems that even when good things happen in educational programs, there is not much impact on the rate of language loss. Despite the end of punitive English-only policies in Indian schools and the advent of bilingual education, especially since the mid-1970s, the shift to English is accelerating in many Indian communities. Why is this happening now?

At the outset it should be noted that, so far, no one has developed a comprehensive theory of language shift — what causes it under widely varying conditions, what prevents it from happening, what can help to reverse it — although I believe that Joshua Fishman has gone farther than anyone else in doing so. Linguists in general have neglected this area; finally a number of them are beginning to wake up to the fact that Native American languages are fast disappearing. According to Michael Krauss (1992), 45 of the 175 still spoken in the U.S.A. are likely to be extinct by the year 2000.

In presenting my working hypotheses about this crisis, I will draw on both historical research into U.S. language policy and my own anecdotal observations in Native American communities, which illustrate some of the many and varied factors involved in language shift. These will be drawn from my visits to reservations in the past year to talk with people about prospects for language revitalization.

1. Language shift is very difficult to impose from without. We know that languages can die. Can they be "murdered"? I'm sad to say, looking at the Americas since the arrival of Columbus, that the answer is yes. Nevertheless, this crime is more difficult to commit than many believe. The one sure-fire way to murder a language is to murder its speakers. Genocide of language communities occurred with Tainos in the Caribbean, the first peoples to be encountered by Columbus. It has also been the fate of a number of others since that time — most famously the case of Ishi, the last speaker of Yana, whose tribe was systematically hunted down and killed by California settlers in the late 19th century. Ishi himself survived until 1916, living out his last years in an anthropology museum in San Francisco.

More often, however, languages die in a more complex and gradual way, through the assimilation of their speakers into other cultures. We know lots of the factors involved — the once-repressive language policies of the Bureau of Indian Affairs are often cited, along with other attempts at cultural genocide, the advent of English-language media, and so on — but these mechanisms have not been studied extensively. We do know that, in the past, this process has taken quite a long time, often several generations, as a community goes through transitional stages of bilingualism. As I noted, however, the pace of language shift appears to be accelerating dramatically in late 20th century America, which is a major cause for concern.

My first hypothesis is that the external forces that are often blamed, especially direct attempts to suppress a language, cannot alone be responsible, for the simple reason that people resist. Language is the ultimate consensual institution. Displacing a community's vernacular is equivalent to displacing its deepest systems of belief. Even when individuals consent to assimilation, it is enormously difficult to give up one's native language. This is especially true as we grow older, because language is tied so closely to our sense of self: personality, ways of thinking, group identity, religious beliefs, and cultural rituals, formal and informal. Such human qualities are resistant to change at the point of a gun; witness the survival of indigenous tongues through centuries of colonialism.

Let us look at the historical record of United States Indian education policies and analyze their role in language shift. Following the advice of the Indian Peace Commission of 1868, the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) embarked on a conscious attempt at cultural genocide. There are numerous statements on record from Commissioners of Indian Affairs who speak explicitly about the need to "blot out barbarous dialects" and substitute English in their place, so as to "civilize the Indians" and contain them on reservations (Atkins, 1887). Coercive assimilation was seen as a less expensive and more humane alternative to military action. Boarding schools were set up for this purpose beginning in 1879.

The BIA's policy was not simply an outgrowth of racism, although clearly racism played a significant role. It grew out of a school of thought known as social evolutionism: simply put, the idea that human cultures evolve through predetermined stages, from "savagery" to "barbarism" to "civilization." According to this theory, it was both natural and desirable for "lower" cultures to die out and be replaced by "higher" cultures — and for "lower" languages to be replaced by "higher" languages. This was the orthodox view among late 19th century anthropologists and linguists, as exemplified by John Wesley Powell, who explored the Colorado River, learned to speak several Native American languages, and founded the Bureau of American Ethnology. Powell believed that humanity was evolving toward a single world language. As an amateur linguist, he wanted to study Native American languages before they died out, although he viewed them as primitive and had no other regrets about their impending extinction (Powell, 1881).

At the same time, the BIA saw nothing wrong with helping this "natural" process along. It rationalized the policy of repressing indigenous languages by arguing that Native Americans' interests were best served by becoming "civilized," even through forcible means. By the late 1880s, the agency mandated English-only rules for all Indian students, including those in religious schools. This policy was bitterly opposed by certain missionaries, who had long ago discovered the effectiveness of using native languages for both educational and religious purposes. But the missionary schools, which received substantial funding from the federal government, ultimately lost this battle (Indian Office, 1888).

In words of Lt. Richard Henry Pratt, architect of the BIA boarding school system, the educational strategy was "Kill the Indian . . . and save the man" (Pratt, 1973[1892]). Killing the language was seen as a necessary means to this end. By insulating children from any kind of Indian influence, Pratt believed they could be indoctrinated with the same culture, values, and language as white Anglo children. But this proved far more difficult than he had anticipated. Sometimes the English-only policy worked with young children if they were removed from their communities, kept at a remote boarding school for several years, and punished for speaking anything but English; naturally they would tend to forget their tribal tongue. The BIA's plan was for these students to graduate, return to the reservation, and convert their tribes to "civilized" norms, eventually to include speaking English. This seldom occurred. Either the returning students were shunned for their alien ways, or they soon returned to the traditional culture of their tribe (Reyhner & Eder, 1989).

Federal officials soon became impatient with the pace of change, and Pratt's optimism about remolding the Indian fell out of favor. It was replaced with theories of racial inferiority that pronounced Native peoples as incapable of full assimilation, an indictment that was directed at certain immigrant groups as well. Accordingly, after 1900 BIA education policy began to focus more heavily on manual arts and to lower expectations for academic achievement among Indian students (Hoxie, 1984). Still, it did not waver in its English-only policy until the 1930s, when John Collier became commissioner of Indian affairs.

Collier was far more respectful of Indian cultures, religions, and languages than his predecessors, and in 1934 he ordered the BIA to stop interfering with them. The new commissioner even authorized some experiments with bilingual instruction among the Navajo and other tribes. But these faltered for a lack of teachers who were proficient in the native language (i.e., Indian teachers) and because of budget cuts brought on by World War II (Szasz, 1977).

Collier also tried, without much success, to promote adult literacy in Navajo. This had seemed like an ideal plan to BIA officials, who were simultaneously promoting an unpopular program of stock reduction to conserve the soil. With a strong faith in the written word, the bureaucrats hoped that if government directives could be distributed in Navajo, they would somehow have more persuasive power and

Navajos would acquiesce in the reduction of their herds. This did not prove to be the case; neither reading nor stock reduction caught on. Some people believe that the BIA's initiative actually soured Navajos on the idea of learning to read and write their language by associating Navajo literacy with an unpopular and dictatorial government program. Meanwhile, despite Collier's policy changes at the top, many BIA schools continued to maintain English-only rules and to punish students for violating them well into the 1950s, apparently without much interference from Washington.

What was the overall impact of English-only policies on language choices? To my knowledge, no one has systematically studied this question, although there is no shortage of anecdotal evidence. Many people cite the BIA boarding schools, with their coercive approach, as the number one factor in Indian language loss. But as Wayne Holm (personal communication, 1994) has pointed out, from his vantage point at the Navajo Division of Education, many tribal members who hold this view — people who attended BIA schools themselves — remain fluent speakers of Navajo, although often their children do not. Most, if not all, of the boarding school "survivors" I have interviewed recall proudly their defiance of English-only rules, even at the risk of harsh punishments.

Some people believe that the boarding school experience has had a delayed effect, inducing shame among many Indians about their culture or at least convincing them that their languages are a source of educational difficulties. So, on becoming parents themselves, they have raised their children only or mostly in English, believing this would help them in school. In my observation, such practices are not uncommon among Indian parents even today. But the question remains: did negative attitudes toward the native language come primarily from repressive BIA policies or from other messages that Indians receive from the dominant culture?

Holm notes that language loss among Navajos began to accelerate in the 1970s and 1980s, among children whose parents started school in the 1950s and 1960s, by which time public schools greatly outnumbered BIA schools on the reservation. While using English as the sole medium of instruction, public schools generally did not practice repressive language policies. Moreover, they promoted an ideology quite distinct from that of BIA schools — one more in line with modernity, economic development, and social integration. These latter forces affect traditional cultures in more insidious, and perhaps more devastating, fashion than direct coercion. Hence my second hypothesis:

2. *Language shift is determined primarily by internal changes within language communities themselves.* No doubt these changes frequently take place in reaction to external pressures — or

"dislocations," to use Fishman's useful term. Such factors weaken the bonds that hold communities together. Yet ultimately speakers themselves are responsible, through their attitudes and choices, for what happens to their native language. Families choose to speak it in the home and teach it to their children, or they don't. Elders choose to speak the language on certain important occasions or to insist on its use in certain important domains, or they don't. Tribal leaders choose to promote the tribal language and accommodate its speakers in government functions, social services, and community schools, or they don't.

This is not to say that such decisions are made in a vacuum, or that they are entirely deliberate. Language choices are influenced, consciously and unconsciously, by social changes that disrupt the community in numerous ways. These include the range of dislocations Fishman (1991) has cited, such as:

Demographic factors. In- and out-migration disperses a community — for example, when people have to leave a reservation to attend school or look for jobs. Mobility often leads to intermarriage with other language communities, which in turn means English will likely become the common language of the household. In addition, we should not overlook the forcible dispersion of certain tribes through genocidal campaigns — for example, in California, a state that also refused to establish reservations for most tribes, which might have provided space for language communities to regroup. It is no coincidence that indigenous tongues in California are among the most endangered in the U.S.A.

Economic forces. Opportunities for employment and commerce tend to be open only to those fully proficient in the dominant language. This is increasingly true when a wage economy starts to replace an agricultural economy and when isolated markets become integrated into a consumer society. It used to be that trading post operators had to be proficient in languages such as Navajo to deal with rural Indians; today it is the Indians who must accommodate to the English-dominated marketplace.

Mass media. Television and video cassette recorders have had a noticeable cultural impact among Native Americans. In more remote areas this has happened only in the last decade. With increased electrification and satellite dishes popping up everywhere, Indian children are suddenly watching MTV, listening to heavy metal, and playing video games — none of which makes any use of their native language. Perhaps more important, electronic media have displaced traditional pastimes, such as the winter stories through which elders passed down tribal history and culture, with passive forms of entertainment.

Social identifiers. We speak like those we admire or aspire to emulate. Native Americans who desire to succeed in professional careers or who feel an attraction to popular (i.e., Western) culture or non-native religions often come to identify with the language of those pursuits — English — and to ascribe low status to native languages. Such tendencies are especially strong among the young, who increasingly identify with non-Indian role models.

These are the kinds of dislocations that occur when barriers fall between the tribal society and the dominant society, when indigenous language communities no longer live in isolation. This has happened earlier on some reservations than on others, but the basic process is pretty much the same. Dan McLaughlin of Navajo Community College put it very well when he said, "You pave roads, you create access to a wage economy, people's values change, and you get language shift" (Crawford, 1995). This brings me to my third hypothesis.

3. If language choices reflect social and cultural values, language shift reflects a change in these values. Language loss is affected not merely by attitudes about language per se (e.g., whether or not to try to keep the ancestral tongue alive). If such values were all that were involved, saving endangered languages would be a lot simpler. More important in this process are larger systems of belief:

Individualism — putting self-interest ahead of community interest. Ambitious individuals tend to ask: How is honoring the old ways going to help me "get ahead"? Other people can do what they want, but my family is going to stress English, the language of success in the dominant society.

Pragmatism — worrying about "what works," not about defending principles that may seem old-fashioned or outmoded. Pragmatists reason that, as indigenous languages decline in power and number of speakers, they are no longer "useful." With English taking their place in more and more domains, they no longer seem worth maintaining.

Materialism — allowing spiritual, moral, and ethical values to be overshadowed by consumerism. The attitude is that indigenous languages won't put bread on the table, so why worry about preserving them? Teaching them to children is a waste of time, and time is money.

The encroachment of these Western ways of thinking, the dominant thought patterns in U.S. capitalist society, has a great deal to do with language shift in native communities.[1] Once these viewpoints were kept out by social, economic, and geographical distances. Although the U.S. government tried repeatedly to implant them — for example, the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887 mandated private land ownership to teach Indians "selfishness, which is at the bottom of civilization" (Debo, 1940) — such ideologies failed to take root in isolated communities; indigenous values and belief systems were too strong.

---

[1] At the same time, I want to distance myself from the view, fashionable in some quarters today, that all Western ways are by definition oppressive and reprehensible. American democratic ideals, such as respect for human rights and minority self-determination, while not consistently observed in practice, nevertheless provide openings to rally the public's support for language preservation.

No more. Technological advances, another byproduct of Western values, have made it increasingly difficult for tribes to insulate themselves from the wider society. Traditional cultures have never been more threatened. In visiting various reservations last year, I found many of these dislocations in community and shifts in basic values to be in evidence. But another interesting thing I discovered is that each native community has its own story, quite distinct from those of other tribes. I would like to share briefly my observations from four of these reservations.

Navajo. As I noted, there has been a rapid erosion in the native language among young Navajos over the past twenty years. This is true even in two communities that remain relatively remote, Rough Rock and Rock Point, Arizona, which also happen to have highly regarded bilingual education programs. As recently as the mid-1970s, more than 95 percent of children starting in these programs spoke Navajo, and most spoke little or no English. Today, according to teachers and school administrators, only about half of the newly arrived kindergartners are orally fluent in the native language (although at Rough Rock this estimate is disputed).[1] In border towns and other large communities, of course, children's fluency in Navajo is considerably lower. A reservation-wide study of Navajo Head Start programs reported that teachers judged 54 percent of preschoolers to be monolingual in English, 18 percent monolingual in Navajo, and 28 percent bilingual (Platero, 1992).

There now seem to be few stable domains for Navajo, daily contexts where it can function without being challenged by English. Because many younger people cannot speak the native language, or cannot speak it well, there is social pressure to use English much of the time. This is true in tribal government and even at Navajo Community College, where Benjamin Barney tells me that English largely predominates — except in his teacher-training program.

Some of this language shift has conscious roots. Opposition to bilingual education has been fanned by some fundamentalist Christian groups, who fear its potential to encourage Navajo religion. In addition, some parents have been convinced that learning the native language is a distraction from learning English and other school subjects. But I believe these are minority sentiments. The vast majority of tribal members, if asked, would favor keeping Navajo alive. The problem is that people seldom get around to doing anything about it, for example, by teaching the language to their kids. Why is this so?

---

[1] It should be noted that these assessments are based on teachers' observations rather than on an objective test. Some administrators believe that the percentage of Navajo speakers is considerably larger at the Rough Rock Community School.

For one thing, there is little sense of urgency about language loss because there are still so many Navajo speakers left. The 1990 census counted more than 100,000 on the reservation, although no doubt that figure overestimates the number who are fully proficient. At the same time, a growing number of Navajos, generally middle-aged or older, are becoming concerned about language shift among the young. Yet many of these people, including most of the language activists I have met, concede that their own children have grown up without learning Navajo. Now, even if they would like to do so, these young adults cannot seem to find the time in their busy lives, so a disparity exists between good intentions and practical efforts to preserve the language.

Meanwhile, there are significant differences in attitudes between generations. Among Navajo youth the native language tends to have very low status — lower than on any other reservation I visited. It is frequently associated with rural backwardness, with people who are not making it in today's society. There is even a slang epithet for such Navajo speakers: "Johns." I happened to visit the elementary school at Chinle on the same day as some Navajo code talkers. These Marine veterans, who played a crucial role in winning World War II in the Pacific, are a great source of pride to adult members of the tribe. One of the code talkers, Carl Gorman, asked students in a 6th grade class how many could speak at least a little Navajo. At first, not a single hand went up. After some coaxing, about half of the children put up their hands. Clearly, speaking the language was not something they were very proud of. I regard that as an ominous sign for the long-term health of Navajo.

Hualapai. This is another case where the native language has been rapidly disappearing among younger generations. At Peach Springs, Arizona, only 50 to 60 percent of entering kindergartners speak Hualapai fluently today, as compared with 95 percent in the mid-1970s. Many young adults — the parental generation — are themselves no longer fluent in the language. Nevertheless, it is still heard throughout the community. The majority of families still have elderly members who speak Hualapai as their dominant tongue; so children are often exposed to it in the home. But that, too, is changing, as new HUD housing has tended to break up extended families.

A special factor that seems to promote the shift to English is the problem of dialect differences in Hualapai. Until about a century ago, the Pai comprised fourteen bands spread over an enormous territory, basically the entire northwestern quadrant of Arizona. While they spoke essentially the same language, geographical dispersion produced a distinct dialect for each of the bands, which continued to live separately until about a generation ago. Then, in the 1950s and 1960s, most of the Pai (except for the Havasupai and Yavapai, who have their own reservations) relocated in Peach Springs. Today, with a population of about 1,500, it is the only residential community on the Hualapai reservation. Not surprisingly, after only a generation or so, dialect differences remain quite obvious.

While lack of standardization is a problem in many tribes, often provoking spirited discussions, it has created special complications among the Hualapai. People are naturally loyal to their native dialect (as we all tend to be) and often engage in ridicule about each others' linguistic "errors." Such joking is usually taken in stride by those who are fully proficient in Hualapai. But for those who are not, especially teenagers and young adults, it creates a lot of self-consciousness. Several of the latter told me that they hesitate to speak the language for fear of being criticized. It is safer to speak English, because nobody cares about alleged errors in English. In addition, a small minority in the community objects to the dialect of Hualapai used in the Peach Springs school, notwithstanding the bilingual program's international acclaim.

A final factor favoring language shift among Hualapai is that the school only goes to the 8th grade (though they are now working on getting their own high school). Students have to go off the reservation — usually to Kingman, 60 miles away — to continue their education. There they tend to speak much less Hualapai; the high school has no bilingual classes. More important, their social environment changes, and so they often meet and marry people from outside the tribe.

Pasqua Yaqui. Concentrated in southern Arizona, Yaquis are relatively recent arrivals to the U.S.A. Their traditional homeland is in the Mexican state of Sonora, where they long lived apart from Spanish speakers, even after the Jesuits converted them to Catholicism. Then, in the late 1800s, the dictator Porfirio Díaz tried to wipe them out. Over the next thirty years, many Yaquis (who refer to themselves as *Yoeme* in their native language) crossed the border to become refugees in and around the urban centers of Tucson and Phoenix. The U.S. government, however, regarded them as illegal immigrants. Their status was not truly settled until the 1970s, when they were granted tribal recognition and a reservation near Tucson. While the Border Patrol was aware of the Yaquis' existence, it generally paid them little attention. Blending into Chicano barrios, they were also difficult to detect, since they looked Mexican and usually spoke more Spanish than English. At times, however, tribal members (including some who had been born in the

U.S.A.) were caught up in mass deportations, which continued periodically until the 1950s.

So speaking their native language, Yoeme, in public was often quite risky for Yaquis. Children were counseled by their parents not to do so for fear that the family would be turned in and shipped back to Mexico. While this helped to ensure the survival of the tribe, it worked against survival of the language.

In recent years the Yaquis have begun assimilating into the Anglo culture, as have many of the Hispanics in Tucson and Phoenix. Over the last two or three generations there has been a massive language shift. According to a recent census conducted by a Felipe Molina, a Yaqui writer and lexicographer, only about 6 percent of the 8,500 tribal members remain fluent in the native language. Virtually none of these are children. In Marana, Arizona, a relatively isolated community I visited last year, the youngest Yoeme speaker was eighteen years old.

There is still some cause for optimism, however: Yoeme remains quite viable in Sonora, where children are still learning the language in isolated Yaqui villages. One of the Tucson schools has organized cultural exchange programs for Pasqua Yaquis and their relatives in Mexico. There are also hopes for joint economic development projects between the two groups, thanks to the North American Free Trade Agreement, something that could make Yoeme a valuable economic as well as cultural resource.

Mississippi Band of Choctaw. This relatively small branch of the Choctaws, with about 5,500 tribal members (versus nearly 43,000 in southeastern Oklahoma) is far from isolated geographically. Yet it has an extremely high rate of retention of the native language: at least 90 percent among children entering school. Meanwhile, fluency in English is also widespread. The Mississippi Choctaws represent a rare example of *diglossia,* or stable bilingualism, in which a single speech community uses two languages for distinct purposes.

Tribal government, tribal business enterprises, and the tribally controlled school system operate mainly if not exclusively in English. Although there was a federally funded bilingual program back in the 1970s, it proved unpopular with the community and was soon terminated. For its part, Choctaw is used extensively in social, ceremonial, and family life. This is the only reservation I visited where I encountered groups of teenagers hanging out with each other speaking their native language, without teachers or other adults cajoling them to do so.

How did this situation develop? Most informed observers believe that the key factor has been social isolation. The reservation is located near Philadelphia, Mississippi, a town that became world famous for white racism when three civil rights workers were murdered there in 1964. (Visiting the town close to the 30th anniversary of the crime, I could not detect much remorse among local whites; whereas hostility toward outsiders was palpable.) Choctaws were the first of the eastern tribes to experience forced "removal" from their homeland in the 1830s. Those who evaded the move and stayed behind in Mississippi enjoyed few if any civil rights. Kept out of public schools and discriminated against in many other ways, they developed a strong ethic of self-reliance and self-isolation. Assimilation was never an option for them until quite recently; nor is it an aspiration today. The Choctaws needed to learn English to deal with local whites to some extent, but they have developed their own parallel institutions; hence the tendency to retain Choctaw.

All this may be changing quite soon. In the last fifteen years the tribe has pulled off a kind of economic miracle, starting its own factories and commercial businesses and, most recently, a casino. The Mississippi Band of Choctaw is now the third largest private employer in the state, bringing numerous English speakers to the reservation for jobs in construction and other tribal enterprises. So the tribe is now forced to interact more with outsiders. Elders are already beginning to see changes in the use of Choctaw and to initiate conscious efforts to preserve the language.

To return to my working hypotheses: What kinds of effective strategies can we identify for language preservation?

4. If language shift reflects a change in values, so too must efforts to reverse language shift (RLS). According to Fishman (1991), "successful RLS is invariably part of a larger ethnocultural goal." As examples one might cite the movement for national autonomy in Catalonia or the class struggles of Mayan peasants in Chiapas. In these cases language preservation is not an isolated objective, but a part of broader social changes.

The question for us is: What kinds of ethnocultural goals would advance the cause of endangered Native American languages? It is one thing to come up with creative ideas about language preservation, as the brainstorming sessions did in the first Symposium. It is quite another to organize people to adopt and practice such ideas consistently. That will require strategy and tactics for remolding attitudes, which in turn will necessitate a better analysis (tailored to each individual community) of why people make the choices they now do.

Again, while specific language attitudes may be easy to change — or perhaps community members already agree in principle about the importance of preserving their native tongue — the more difficult task involves a broader realignment of values to combat forces such as individualism, pragmatism, and materialism.

How do fundamental changes in values occur? Either individuals' lives change in radical ways, or they experience a religious conversion, or they are influenced by a social movement that speaks directly to long-suppressed needs and aspirations. In this case I believe a social movement will be necessary, one that addresses questions that matter to Native Americans, no doubt in the context of struggles for self-determination — cultural, economic, and perhaps political as well.

5. *Language shift cannot be reversed by outsiders, however well-meaning.* As Michael Krauss (1992) has written, based on long experience directing the Alaska Native Language Center, "You cannot from the outside inculcate into people the will to revive or maintain their languages. This has to come from them, from themselves." If language preservation efforts are to succeed, they must be led by indigenous institutions, organizations, and activists.

Schools, by contrast, are usually regarded as an outside institution in Indian communities, unless they are under effective local control. As experience has shown, establishing such control is easier said than done, even when tribes or communities contract to run their own schools. The frequent need to hire outside expertise can mean sacrificing power over things that are important to tribal members. Generally speaking, outside administrators bring with them their own agendas. The only way to avoid this trap is to train native talent to perform these jobs.

Even where there is effective local control, schools can only do so much. Again, it is hard to translate good intentions into action — not unlike the situation in many homes. Everyone agrees the native language needs to be preserved, but English still tends to predominate, even in bilingual education programs, unless domains are consciously defended for the former. When I visited Rough Rock, I heard lots of concern about this problem among teachers, who wanted to create "a totally Navajo environment" at least part of the time. Otherwise, they felt an overpowering tendency to lapse into English.

Another obvious problem is dependence on federal funding, unfortunately a universal phenomenon in Indian education and one that fosters program instability. For example, Title VII bilingual education grants were designed not as a permanent entitlement, but as seed money to get programs started, promote experimentation, and build local "capacity" to make them self-supporting. On reservations, however, alternative resources are usually lacking. So when the grant ends after three to five years, so does the program in many cases.

Moreover, in the U.S.A. bilingual education has developed largely as a transitional approach for assimilating immigrant children. The vast majority of such programs make no attempt to preserve the native language after the student learns English. Until recently the best Indian bilingual programs have had to bend the law to combine native language maintenance with learning English.

Finally, even where there has been a concerted effort to maintain and develop bilingual skills, such as at Peach Springs and Rock Point, language shift has proceeded rapidly. One reason is that these programs were not originally designed to prevent language loss, which was not perceived as a problem twenty years ago on the Hualapai and Navajo reservations. Another reason is that tribal members outside the schools have yet to become mobilized to keep their languages alive. According to Lucille Watahomigie, director of the Peach Springs program, parents often assume that "the schools can solve that problem" rather than seeing the need for a "partnership" between school and community (Crawford 1995).

There are two other educational approaches we are going to be hearing about at this Symposium, which promise to address the problem more directly: two-way bilingual education, as practiced at Tuba City, and early immersion, a model that Wayne Holm inaugurated at Ft. Defiance. These types of programs, designed to conserve Native American languages, are now eligible for funding under the 1994 amendments to the Bilingual Education Act — thanks in large measure to skillful maneuvering by Bob Arnold, formerly on the staff of the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs.

It is still premature to gauge how effective these approaches are going to be in practice. While they have yielded excellent results with children whose languages are not severely threatened, it is unclear how they will work in a context of rapid language shift. And, I regret to add, it is uncertain how much longer the federal government is going to fund any kind of bilingual education.

The Republican-controlled 104th Congress seems intent on cutting Title VII, along with numerous other programs serving Indian students. Meanwhile, English-only legislation has a better chance of passage in this Congress than ever before. One such bill, H.R. 123, already has 182 cosponsors in the House, including quite a few Democrats. While particulars vary, most versions of the so-called "Language of Government Act" would jeopardize all programs serving language minorities, including those dedicated to language preservation now provided by the Administration for Native Americans, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the National Park Service, the National Science Foundation, and of course, the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs.

But looking on the brighter side, I do not believe that large-scale federal funding is crucial to language preservation efforts today. Small amounts can be quite helpful, of course. Witness the catalytic effect of the Native American Languages Act, whose paltry $1 million in grants last year went a long way toward generating enthusiasm for tribal projects. Still, it seems to me quite feasible to raise sums of this magnitude from nongovernmental sources, such as private foundations, corporate donors, and of course, tribes themselves. Lavish grants might even lead us down blind alleys (although this claim is unlikely to be tested in the foreseeable future). Fortunately, at this stage the most promising approaches are extremely low-tech. This brings me to a key hypothesis of Joshua Fishman's that bears repeating:

6. Successful strategies for reversing language shift demand an understanding of the stage we are currently in. What is appropriate in one community, with a certain degree of language loss and a certain level of consciousness about the problem, is unlikely to be appropriate in another community where these conditions differ. Timely solutions are crucial, whereas untimely ones are worse than useless; they can be counterproductive. At present, I would argue that investing heavily in CD-ROM technology and language-learning software would be a foolish diversion of resources, that organizing mass demonstrations to demand additional support from government would be a waste of time and energy, and that convening a summit meeting of tribes to write manifesto on the subject would likely lead nowhere. While each of these tactics might be useful at a different stage, in my view none would be useful today, when we lack definitive answers to the question: What is to be done?

In short, there is a need to put first things first. While there are lots of creative ideas out there, no one has yet developed a comprehensive strategy for preserving Native American languages. The promising models, techniques, and tactics that do exist are inadequately disseminated. So, for the most part, they remain unknown to the majority of Indian educators and community activists. What, then, is necessary to move things forward?

7. At this stage in the U.S.A., the key task is to develop indigenous leadership. Most of the issues I have discussed today could be called "objective factors" — forces outside our conscious control that affect language shift and its reversal. These are the factors that must be studied and understood before any effort at social change can succeed. I believe that now is the time to concentrate on the "subjective factor" — on building a movement that can exert an influence on behalf of endangered languages. This will mean centralizing available information about what is already being done, organizing discussions about strategic directions for our work, and, most important, fostering leadership from endangered language communities themselves.

Outsiders cannot lead this movement, although they can serve as helpful allies. No doubt linguists and educators can be instrumental, both in providing technical assistance to language preservation efforts and in serving as ambassadors to the U.S. government and the American public about the importance of such work. But with a few exceptions, and I am referring mainly to Native American linguists and educators, academic people are not situated to play direct leadership roles. Outside allies (and I count myself in this group) can contribute most by providing resources, training, and encouragement to indigenous language activists.

It is heartening to see the growing enthusiasm for language preservation work throughout Native American communities. I have encountered it on reservations, in schools, and at some excellent and well-attended conferences in the last few months — for example, the Native American Languages Issues Institute, organized last fall by Gloria Emerson. Projects are popping up all over the country. Yet so far there is no central forum for discussion or organization for moving things forward.

Without such a vehicle, today's momentum could soon be lost. Now is not the time for summit meetings or mass organizing or expensive technology projects. Now is the time to develop our brain trust; to facilitate communication among activists (e.g., through conferences, publications, and the Internet); to compile resource guides and how-to-manuals that share practical experiences (failures as well as successes); to train Indian linguists and educators; to build alliances with sympathetic outsiders; and of course, to encourage talented and committed people to get involved.

In closing, I would note that a high proportion of today's Indian language activists tend to be tied to educational institutions of one kind or other. Educators have served as a kind of early warning system about language loss. And it goes without saying that they are both well situated and usually well qualified to help address this crisis. Certainly, there are important contributions to be made in the schools, but not only in the schools. Broader community-wide efforts are essential in restoring and expanding safe domains for indigenous languages. It is here in particular that we should be seeking out and encouraging new activists. I hope this Symposium will lead us at least a few steps down that road.

References

Atkins, J.D.C. (1887). Annual report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Rpt. in James Crawford, ed. (1992). *Language loyalties: A source book on the official English controversy* (pp. 47-51). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago.

Crawford, James. (1995). *Bilingual education: History, politics, theory, and practice.* 3rd ed. Los Angeles, CA: Bilingual Educational Services.

Debo, Angie. (1940). *And still the waters run: The betrayal of the five civilized tribes.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University.

Fishman, Joshua. (1991). *Reversing language shift: Theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages.* Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Hoxie, Frederick E. (1984). *A final promise: The campaign to assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920.* Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska.

Indian Office, U.S. (1888). *Correspondence on the subject of teaching the vernacular in Indian schools.* Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Krauss, M. (1992). Statement of Mr. Michael Krauss representing the Linguistic Society of America. In U.S. Senate, *Native American Languages Act of 1991: Hearing before the Select Committee on Indian Affairs* (pp. 18-22). Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Platero, Paul R. (1992). *Navajo Head Start language study.* Abridged version. Window Rock, AZ: Navajo Division of Education.

Powell, J.W. (1881). *First annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1879-80.* Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Pratt, Richard Henry. (1973). Official report of the nineteenth annual Conference of Charities and Correction [1892]. In F. P. Prucha (Ed.), *Americanizing the American Indians: Writings by the "Friends of the Indian," 1880-1900.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.

Reyhner, Jon, & Eder, Jeanne. (1989). *A history of Indian education.* Billings: Eastern Montana College.

Szasz, Margaret Connell. (1977). *Education and the American Indian: The road to self-determination since 1928* (2nd ed.). Albuquerque: University of New Mexico.

Veltman, Calvin. (1983). *Language shift in the United States.* Berlin: Mouton.

PUBLIC LAW 101-477 - October. 30, 1990
TITLE I — NATIVE AMERICAN LANGUAGES ACT

SHORT TITLE

SEC. 101. This title may be cited as the "Native American Languages Act".

FINDINGS

SEC. 102. The Congress finds that—

(1) the status of the cultures and languages of native Americans is unique and the United States has the responsibility to act together with Native Americans to ensure the survival of these unique cultures and languages;

(2) special status is accorded Native Americans in the United States, a status that recognizes distinct cultural and political rights, including the right to continue separate identities;

(3) the traditional languages of native Americans are an integral part of their cultures and identities and form the basic medium for the transmission, and thus survival, of Native American cultures, literatures, histories, religions, political institutions, and values;

(4) there is a widespread practice of treating Native Americans languages as if they were anachronisms;

(5) there is a lack of clear, comprehensive, and consistent Federal policy on treatment of Native American languages which has often resulted in acts of suppression and extermination of Native American languages and cultures;

(6) there is convincing evidence that student achievement and performance, community and school pride, and educational opportunity is clearly and directly tied to respect for, and support of, the first language of the child or student;

(7) it is clearly in the interests of the United States, individual States, and territories to encourage the full academic and human potential achievements of all students and citizens and to take steps to realize these ends;

(8) acts of suppression and extermination directed against Native American languages and cultures are in conflict with the United States policy of self-determination for Native Americans;

(9) languages are the means of communication for the full range of human experiences and are critical to the survival of cultural and political integrity of any people; and

(10) language provides a direct and powerful means of promoting international communication by people who share languages.

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 103. For purposes of this title—

(1) The term "Native American" means an Indian, Native Hawaiian, or Native American Pacific Islander.

(2) The term "Indian" has the meaning given to such term under section 5351(4) of the Indian Education Act of 1988 (25 U.S.C. 2651(4)).

(3) The term "Native Hawaiian" has the meaning given to such term by section 4009 of Public Law 100-297 (20 U.S.C. 4909).

(4) The term "Native American Pacific Islander" means any descendent of the aboriginal people of any island in the Pacific Ocean that is a territory or possession of the United States.

(5) The terms "Indian tribe" and "tribal organization" have the respective meaning given to each of such terms under section 4 of the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (25 U.S.C. 450b).

(6) The term "Native American language" means the historical, traditional languages spoken by Native Americans.

(7) The term "traditional leaders" includes Native Americans who have special expertise in Native American culture and Native American languages.

(8) The term "Indian reservation" has the same meaning given to the term "reservation" under section 3 of the Indian Financing Act of 1974 (25 U.S.C. 1452).

DECLARATION OF POLICY

SEC. 104. It is the policy of the United States to—

(1) preserve, protect, and promote the rights and freedom of Native Americans to use, practice, and develop Native American languages;

(2) allow exceptions to teacher certification requirements for Federal programs, and programs funded in whole or in part by the Federal Government, for instruction in Native American languages when such teacher certification requirements hinder the employment of qualified teachers who teach in Native American languages, and to encourage State and territorial governments to make similar exceptions;

(3) encourage and support the use of Native American languages as a medium of instruction in order to encourage and support—

- (A) Native American language survival,
- (B) educational opportunity,
- (C) increased student success and performance,
- (D) increased student awareness and knowledge of their culture and history, and
- (E) increased student and community pride;

(4) encourage State and local education programs to work with Native American parents, educator, Indian tribes, and other Native

American governing bodies in the implementation of programs to put this policy into effect;

(5) recognize the right of Indian tribes and other Native American governing bodies to use the Native American languages as a medium of instruction in all schools funded by the Secretary of the Interior;

(6) fully recognize the inherent right of Indian tribes and other Native American governing bodies, States, territories, and possessions of the United States to take action on, and give official status to, their Native American languages for the purpose of conducting their own business;

(7) support the granting of comparable proficiency achieved through course work in a Native American language the same academic credit as comparable proficiency achieved through course work in a foreign language, with recognition of such Native American language proficiency by institutions of higher education as fulfilling foreign language entrance or degree requirements; and

(8) encourage all institutions of elementary, secondary and higher education, where appropriate, to include Native American languages in the curriculum in the same manner as foreign languages and to grant proficiency in Native American languages the same full academic credit as proficiency in foreign languages.

NO RESTRICTIONS

SEC. 105. The right of Native Americans to express themselves through the use of Native American languages shall not be restricted in any public proceeding, including publicly supported education programs.

EVALUATIONS

Sec. 106. (a) The President shall direct the heads of the various Federal departments, agencies, and instrumentalities to—

(1) Evaluate their policies and procedures in consultation with Indian tribes and other Native American governing bodies as well as traditional leaders and educators in order to determine and implement changes needed to bring the policies and procedures into compliance with the provisions of this title;

(2) give the greatest effect possible in making such evaluations, absent a clear specific Federal statutory requirement to the contrary, to the policies and procedures which will give the broadest effect to the provisions of this title; and

(3) evaluate the laws which they administer and make recommendations to the President on amendments needed to bring such laws into compliance with the provisions of this title.

(b) By no later than the date that is 1 year after the date of enactment of this title, the President shall submit to the Congress a report containing recommendations for amendments to Federal laws that are needed to bring such laws into compliance with the provisions of this title.

USE OF ENGLISH

Sec. 107. Nothing in this title shall be construed as precluding the use of Federal funds to teach English to Native Americans.

Approved October 30, 1990.

INDIAN NATIONS AT RISK TASK FORCE
NATIONAL EDUCATION GOALS FOR AMERICAN INDIANS AND ALASKA NATIVES

October 1991

Using the President's six National Education Goals as a foundation, the Indian Nations At Risk Task Force established a set of education goals to guide the improvement of all federal, tribal, private, and public schools that serve American Indians and Alaska Natives and their communities:

GOAL 1: Readiness for School

By the year 2000 all Native children will have access to early childhood education programs that provide the language, social, physical, spiritual, and cultural foundations they need to succeed in school and to reach their full potential as adults.

GOAL 2: Maintain Native Languages and Cultures

By the year 2000 all schools will offer Native students the opportunity to maintain and develop their tribal languages and will create a multicultural environment that enhances the many cultures represented in the school.

GOAL 3: Literacy

By the year 2000 all Native children in school will be literate in the language skills appropriate for their individual levels of development. They will be competent in their English oral, reading, listening, and writing skills.

GOAL 4: Student Academic Achievement

By the year 2000 every Native student will demonstrate mastery of English, mathematics, science, history, geography, and other challenging academic skills necessary for an educated citizenry.

GOAL 5: High School Graduation

By the year 2000 all Native students capable of completing high school will graduate. They will demonstrate civic, social, creative, and critical thinking skills necessary for ethical, moral, and responsible citizenship and important in modern tribal, national, and world societies.

GOAL 6: High-Quality Native and non-Native School Personnel

By the year 2000 the numbers of Native educators will double, and the colleges and universities that train the nation's teachers will develop a curriculum that prepares teachers to work effectively with a variety of cultures, including the native cultures, that are served by schools.

GOAL 7: Safe and Alcohol-Free and Drug-Free Schools

By the year 2000 every school responsible for educating Native students will be free of alcohol and drugs and will provide safe facilities and an environment conducive to learning.

GOAL 8: Adult Education and Lifelong Learning

By the year 2000 every Native adult will have the opportunity to be literate and to obtain the necessary academic, vocational, and technical skills and knowledge needed to gain meaningful employment and to exercise the rights and responsibilities of tribal and national citizenship.

GOAL 9: Restructuring Schools

By the year 2000 schools serving Native children will be restructured to effectively meet the academic, cultural, spiritual, and social needs of students for developing strong, healthy, self-sufficient communities.

GOAL 10: Parental, Community, and Tribal Partnerships

By the year 2000 every school responsible for educating Native students will provide opportunities for Native parents and tribal leaders to help plan and evaluate the governance, operation, and performance of their educational programs.

Section III

Family and Community

Joshua Fishman
Benjamin Barney
Dan McLaughlin
Facilitators

November Roundtable
Family and Community Group Abstract

Issues:

1. All Native American languages are severely threatened.
2. The consciousness levels of Native American families about the threat of language loss tend to be low.
3. Native language is inseparable from cultural identity and spirituality.
4. The impact of non-Native cultural elements on Native American youths interferes with native language acquisition.
5. Language stabilization efforts must proceed in culturally appropriate ways.
6. New effective strategies for intergenerational language transmission can be implemented at various levels, from individual to tribal.
7. Hypercritical native speakers tend to discourage the efforts of less fluent learners.

Strategies:

Individual level: Native speakers must help latent speakers and non-speakers learn the native language by utilizing existing language learning material, taped stories, and by creating new materials.

Family level: Organize family reunions and family-based summertime and weekend language immersion activities; encourage families to limit the intrusion of English-language media; and establish parental support groups for native language.

Community level: Encourage senior citizens centers to have seniors use their native language with young children, for example in "language nests" at local preschools and Head Start centers; promote community seminars in the native language, community meetings and conferences about native language, language institutes for families and communities, and programs for parents of children in bilingual programs; and establish "banks" of language learning materials.

Tribal Nations level: Encourage elected officials to use and promote the native language; develop networks of Native American language supporters across tribal boundaries.

Promotion of attitudes: Use every means to promote native language and the virtues of bilingualism: radio announcements, air speakers' testimonials, posters, bumper stickers, T-shirts. Document successful efforts.

Families and Community Group Summary

Some native languages may be less severely endangered than others, but all of them are threatened as the time honored ways of passing them on to the next generation are rapidly disappearing. Strategies that promote the intergenerational transmission of languages require community support; if they are imposed from outside, they are likely to encounter opposition.

Native languages are inseparable from cultural identity and spirituality. Since every community is different, language stabilization strategies will also differ from one place to another, if they are to be consistent with local customs. The concepts of language, identity, culture, and spirituality are highly complex, and some confusion is inevitable now that the schools are involved in the teaching of native language and literacy. One can and should ask whose responsibility and privilege it is to teach a native language, but the answer is unclear and varies from one context to another.

Within each community, native language transmission can occur at different levels. At the individual level, a fluent speaker can take the initiative to help less fluent ones improve their proficiency. One person's example may motivate others to do the same, and their apprentices can eventually become teachers.

These individual efforts often occur in one-on-one or small-group situations, but they can have a significant overall impact over time. The teachers should maintain a positive and encouraging rapport with the apprentices and refrain from scolding or shaming them for making mistakes. In addition to using whatever suitable materials they can find, the native speakers should also try to develop additional ones. If they are not literate in the language they can tape stories, songs, and interviews. If they are literate, they can produce written versions of their tapes as well as additional texts, including letters, readings, and poems.

Not only individuals but families can play an important role in language transmission. They can provide opportunities for meaningful interactions both in and out of the home. When outside influences such as television and English-speaking visitors intrude on the time intended for native language use, it may be necessary to schedule specific times, events, or places for the total and exclusive immersion in the home language. Families consisting of speakers as well as non-speakers must make a special effort to designate such times so that the non-speakers or limited speakers can have the opportunity to gain some understanding and some elementary communication skills in the home language. Family reunions provide additional opportunities for language learning and teaching. Weekend and summer visits to grandparents and other relatives add new, culturally-enriching experiences to those available at home, because of the different age-levels, voices, interests, and backgrounds of those involved.

It is important that families control and limit the intrusion of English-language media, especially television and videos, into their daily lives. Support groups consisting of several families can be very effective in this area as well as in expanding the scope and richness of language learning, teaching, and use.

At the community level, a high priority should be the dissemination of information so that everyone becomes aware of the threat of language loss and the strategies for preventing or reversing it. Conferences and training sessions on cultural topics that reinforce language awareness and community identity should be well advertised and promoted, especially among educators and parents. The public is often unaware of the existence, availability, and location of resources that would serve their needs and interest at little or no cost to the user.

Each community can emphasize and demonstrate its language loyalty by posting signs, announcements, advertisements, and other messages in the local language, even if they already exist in English. Radio broadcasts, theatrical performances, art shows, and other special events can also be powerful tools for strengthening a community's cultural and linguistic identity.

Senior citizens can be a powerful language transmission resource. Many of them would welcome the opportunity to share their unique knowledge with students of all ages, and especially with young children in day-care centers. In today's economy, it is often necessary for both parents to go to work and miss the opportunity to give their children a traditional upbringing a home. These families would appreciate the linguistic and cultural continuity provided by the presence of senior citizens in day-care facilities. The seniors, on the other hand, could gain some financial independence and prestige.

At the tribal level, elected officials can support their native language through personal example, by using it and encouraging other to use it. Rather than using only English at public events attended by speakers as well as non-speakers of the tribal language, they could insist on simultaneous translation or interpretation. They could also develop networks of native language supporters across tribal boundaries.

To promote attitudes in support of native language use broadcast radio announcements that encourage individuals to learn the native language and not shame non-speakers, air speakers' testimonials in support of the native language, inform the general public about the virtues of bilingualism, encourage speakers of the native language to use it at conferences about language use, and create "If You Care About The Native Language, Use It" and "I Speak the Native Language to My Child" posters, bumper-stickers, radio ads, buttons, t-shirts, and so on

— in the native language. Publicize as widely and as much as possible information on the threat of native language loss and encourage parents and grandparents to use and teach the native language and document the success, or lack thereof, of different reversing-language-shift efforts. Explain as widely as possible that western-based institutions like schools alone cannot rescue the native language; parents, families, and native communities must deal directly with the issue of language loss.

Disseminate information on native language preservation as effectively and as widely as possible to native communities. Translate information as appropriate and disseminate the information on promoting native languages in oral and/or written form as widely as possible. We need to ask the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (OBEMLA) to help us produce brochures, radio announcements, articles, and other sources of information for wide distribution in native communities.

Individuals who attended the OBEMLA sponsored symposia here at Northern Arizona University need to try out as many of the language-preservation strategies discussed as they can and analyze what worked, what didn't, and why. Do not lose focus on the main goal — to promote the teaching and learning of the native language from grandparents and parents to children, across the generations. Demonstrate your own commitment to promoting native languages by using the strategies shared at the symposia.

What Do You Lose When You Lose Your Language?[1]

Joshua Fishman

The first paper that I wrote in 1948 on native languages had to do with what is the impact of bilingualism on students. There were still parents then who were concerned that if their children learned another language it would ruin their English accent. If you would hear the tones of another languages every time they spoke English, how would they get a job and what would people think of them? Today, forty-five years later, we are still not "home" at convincing public opinion and the authorities that it is worth having all the languages we have today. Therefore, I want to start with this question, "What is lost when a language is lost?" It is amazing how people are uncomfortable about answering that question. I remember my mother always telling me, "When you start off a talk, make sure people know what the question is and ask a good question. A good question is worth everything." And I would say to her, "Ma, you know, Americans, they start off a conference with a joke. You have to tell a joke for people to know that you're about to speak?" She said, "Jokes? Ask a good question" That is an old Jewish tradition, if you have a good question, you have something worthwhile to worry about.

Attitudes toward language-loss depend on your perspective. When a language is lost, you might look at that from the perspective of the individual. Many individuals suppressed their language and paid the price for it in one way or another — that remaining, fumbling insecurity when you are not quite sure whether you have the metaphor right in the expression that you are going to use and you know the one that comes to mind is not from the language that you are speaking at the moment. So, there is an individual price, in every sense.

You can also speak from the point of view of the culture lost. The culture has lost its language. What is lost when the culture is so dislocated that it loses the language which is traditionally associated with it? That is a serious issue for Native Americans. We can ask it from the national point of view. What is lost by the country when the country loses its languages? We have had this very haphazard linguistic book-keeping where you pretend nothing is lost — except the language. It is just a little language. But, after all, a country is just the sum of all of its creative potential. What does the country lose when it loses individuals who are comfortable with themselves, cultures that are authentic to themselves, the capacity to pursue sensitivity, wisdom, and some kind of recognition that one has a purpose in life? What is lost to a country that encourages people to lose their direction in life?

---

[1] This paper is adapted from the speech given by Dr. Fishman at the first stabilizing indigenous languages symposium on November 16, 1994.

Today, I would like to just talk about language loss from only one of these perspectives, the perspective of the culture. Because losing your language is, technically, an issue in the relationship between language and culture. What is the relationship between language and culture? Is it like the relationship of my handkerchief and my trousers: you can take it out and throw it away and put another handkerchief in? Or is there some kind of more substantive relationship between a language and culture? Even there, there are various perspectives. There is an "outsider," often disciplinary, perspective as we anthropologists and linguists sit and think about it. When we consider the relationship between language and culture, it occurs to us as outsiders, not being members of those cultures, what the relationship might be and then we try to gather insightful comments, even from the outside. There is a kind of lexical or, I would say, an indexical relationship between language and culture. A language long associated with the culture is best able to express most easily, most exactly, most richly, with more appropriate over-tones, the concerns, artifacts, values, and interests of that culture. That is an important characteristic of the relationship between language and culture, the indexical relationship.

It is not a perfect relationship. Every language grows; every culture changes. Some words hang on after they are no longer culturally active. "Little Miss Muffet sat on a tuffet eating her curds and whey." Well, who knows what a tuffet is any more, and you can not find anybody who knows what curds and whey are any more without doing research. Those are frozen traces. Even if there is often a good relationship between the words of the language and the concerns of the culture, there are more important relationships between language and culture than the indexical one.

The most important relationship between language and culture that gets to the heart of what is lost when you lose a language is that most of the culture is in the language and is expressed in the language. Take it away from the culture, and you take away its greetings, its curses, its praises, its laws, its literature, its songs, its riddles, its proverbs, its cures, its wisdom, its prayers. The culture could not be expressed and handed on in any other way. What would be left? When you are talking about the language, most of what you are talking about is the culture. That is, you are losing all those things that essentially are the way of life, the way of thought, the way of valuing, and the human reality that you are talking about.

There is another deep relationship between language and culture, the symbolic relationship. That is, the language stands for that whole culture. It represents it in the minds of the speakers and the minds of outsiders. It just stands for it and sums it up for them — the whole economy, religion, health care system, philosophy, all of that together is represented by the language. And, therefore, any time when we are at outs with some other culture, we begin to say snide things about the language. "Oh, it sounds so harsh. And it sounds so cruel" because we think its speakers are cruel or it sounds so poor or it sounds so primitive because we think they are primitive. The language symbolizes for us the whole relationship.

Actually I do not care much for this presentation of the outside view that I have made to you. It is a highly intellectualized abstraction. If you talk to people about what the language means to them, if you talk to members of the culture, they do not mention indexicality. They do not say anything about its symbolism for the whole ball of wax. They talk in totally different terms. And this tells you what *they* think they lose. They tell you some things about the sanctity of the language. Sanctity is not a little thing to throw around. At least, I have never felt so. Now sometimes you do not exactly mean holy — holy, holy, holy. But nevertheless, when people tell you that there is a cultural view of how that language came about, that it came to be when the earth was created, when the worlds were created, when heaven and earth was created, when humanity was created, they are giving you what you might think of as a myth, but the importance of it is beyond its truth value. That is actually the definition of a myth — something that is so important that you hold on to it because it has an importance beyond its truth. They may have the view that it was created before the creation of the world, as white fire or black fire. Every time the Lord spoke out, it came out as white fire or black fire in their own ethnocultural letters. That may sound ridiculous to you, but it is a sense of sanctity. People tell you things like that; ordinary people in ordinary Native American groups will tell you things like that. They will tell you things that have to do with the great Creator. They will tell you about the morality that is in the language. Morality is, after all, just sanctity in operation. The things you have to do to be good, to be a member in good standing, to meet your commitments to the creator. Some languages that are holy in themselves, and other languages have brought holy thoughts and holy dictums and holy commandments. People tell you metaphors of holiness. This is the most common thing, the most common expression of holiness that people tell you about their language. And that means they are going to lose the metaphor about the language being the soul of the people. The language being the mind of the people. The language being the spirit of the people. Those are just metaphors, but they are not innocent metaphors. There is something deeply holy implied, thereby, and that is what would be lost. That sense of a holy, a component of holiness that pervades people's life the way the culture pervades their life, through the language.

Another dimension of what people tell you about when they tell you about language and culture is why they like their language, why they say it is important to them. They tell you about kinship. They tell you that their mother spoke the language to them, their father spoke the language, their brothers, the sisters, the uncles, the aunts, the whole community. All the ones who loved them spoke the language to them when they were children. Just before their mother died she spoke the language to them. All the endearments, all the nurturing, that is kinship is tied into a living organism of a community by people who know each other, and they know they belong together. That is what the old sociologists call "gemeinschaft." We belong together. We have something in common. We are tied to each other through the language. That precious sense of community is not a thing to lose just as is the sense of holiness. Woe to the people who have lost the sense of holiness, where nothing matters, and woe to the people who have lost a commitment one to the other. And that is what people tell you about when they tell you about their language, and that is neither the anthropological nor any other exterior view of the relationship between language and culture. It is not an intellectualization, because it is so emotionally suffused and focused on the internal experience.

Another thing people tell you about their language is that they have a sense of responsibility for it. They should do something for it. That is a rarer, but not altogether rare, aspect of what people tell you about their language. "I should do something. I should do more for it. I haven't done the right thing by it. I'm glad I'm working for it," as if there were a kind of a moral commitment here and a moral imperative. It is a value. It is kinship-related. And, if I am a decent person, I owe something to it for what it has given me — love and nurturance, connection.

These three things taken together, this sense of sanctity, this sense of kinship, and this sense of moral imperative, are not a bad componential analysis of positive ethnolinguistic consciousness. People are positively conscious of their language, without having taken a course in linguistics to spoil it for them, to intellectualize it for them. When they are positively ethnolinguistically conscious, they tell you deeply meaningful things to them. That is what they would lose if they lost the language. They would lose a member of the family, an article of faith, and a commitment in life. Those are not little things for people to lose or for a culture to lose.

And so, therefore, it is no surprise that the generalized topic of this conference, "reversing language shift" or "stabilizing indigenous languages," represents an ideal for literally millions of people on all continents. That is a good thing to realize. Small Native American communities might think that they are the only ones out there in the cold that have to worry about this. That is not so. There are millions upon millions of people around the world that are working for their language on all continents. In Europe, Irish, Basque, Catalan, and Frisian, just to name obvious cases, are threatened.

I remember when I was in Egypt, a Copt coming up to me and, realizing what I was interested in (people have to feel you are sympathetic before they tell you deeply painful things), told me how they were working on reviving Coptic and had made little books for their children in Coptic. He wondered if I wanted to see them. Coptic has not been spoken vernacularly for thousands of years and they were trying to revive it. I also had conversations recently with Afrikaans speakers. Now that South Africa has set apartheid aside, the language most likely to suffer is Afrikaans. English is going to be the link language. Nine or ten other African languages are going to be declared as national languages. The language that will probably come out holding the short end of the stick is the language of the previous regime, the language that has a symbolic association with apartheid. That is not the only symbolic association you should have with it; however, Afrikaans is already losing status at all levels.

In Asia and the Pacific those aboriginal and Australian languages that have survived are now having much "rescue work" being done on them. One example is Maori, an indigenous language of New Zealand. I recently met with a visitor from there who told me that there are now six hundred schools of a nursery-kindergarten, child-care nature to get children who are not Maori-speaking to be taken care of day after day by Maori-speaking older folks. There are now an increasing number of elementary schools where they are continuing Maori language instruction.

So on every inhabited continent, not just immigrant North America, people share concerns over indigenous languages. You can meet with representatives of the Greek church and of the Armenian church in the United States, and they will tell you about their efforts. They ask "Can you be Greek Orthodox without knowing Greek?" To them this is an American aberration; it never happened before in Greek history. "Can you be Armenian Orthodox without knowing Armenian?" Armenians have a saint associated with their language. That is how holy they feel Armenian is. The alphabet is of saintly, sanctified origin. But in America the question has arisen "Can you be Armenian without the language?" Spanish, which is a colonial language, has had much language loss associated with it, particularly in New York City. There is now an inter-generational study that confirms it, following up the same people and their children. "Can you be Hispanic without speaking Spanish?" It is a new question to ask, and the truth is that everybody now has a nephew or a niece who does not speak any Spanish.

Something is felt to be deeply wrong there, and the sense of loss is very deep.

So members of indigenous language communities wanting to revive languages, wanting to strengthen languages, wanting to further languages, are in good company. They are in the company of many people who have tried very hard to do somewhat similar and sometimes very similar things, and there are some successes to talk about, although on the whole, relatively speaking, it is not a good business to be in. It is never good, my mother told me, to be poor and old and sick. And it is never good to be a member of a small, weak, and economically poor culture. But we really cannot pick our mothers, and we cannot pick our cultures. If you work for your culture, you have a sense of gratification that is at least a partial compensation. And this is being done to such an extent all over the world that I think it is high time we got together to share experiences, to share failures, because it is important to know about failures and to share successes. The successes keep us from burning out. And it is important to know the failures because if you do not know the failures then you repeat them. If you do not know that something has been tried time and time again and has not worked out, then you do it yourself because you do not know it has failed and it sounds good to you. There are a number of reasons I think it is important for us to start out realizing that language restoration is, at best, a very hard job.

There are many reasons why there are so many more failures than successes in stabilizing weak languages. First of all, whenever a weak culture is in competition with a strong culture, it is an unfair match. The odds are not encouraging for the weak. They never are. Whatever mistakes are made, there is not enough margin for error to recover from them. It is like a poor man investing on the stock market. If you do not hit it off, you do not have anything to fall back on. Small weak cultures, surrounded by dominant cultures, dependent on a dominant culture, and dislocated by those very cultures, and yet needing those cultures, are not to be envied. They have undertaken to resist the biggest thing around, and frequently, they begin to do so when it is too late.

There is a kind of resistance to the very idea that something is happening to their language. "Oh, it'll pick up. Oh, it happened before. Oh, the younger generation will come around. When they get older, they'll start talking it." Doing it too late, can be too late in several ways. First of all, it can be too late biologically. That is, sometimes cultures "catch on" to that something should be done when there are no longer people around of child-bearing age. The older people around may even be talking the language, and enjoying it, and joking in it, telling stories in it, and doing all the traditional things in it, but they are not likely to have any more children. In terms of a kind of self-sustaining, inter-generational link, it is now too late for the usual things. You might still try something, but it is like freezing an embryo and then trying to bring it back a hundred years later. There are some unusual things one can still try to do for a language that no longer has a natural generational flow, but, in most cases, it is too late because those unusual things are really very unusual and really hard to do.

It is usually too late ideologically or, if you like, culturally, by then, because a new *modus vivendi* has been worked out. When languages die, people do not stop talking. Cultures do not fold up and silently steal off into the night. They go on and they talk the new language. They go on in the other language; they work out a new relationship between language and culture. The relationship is detachable; it is dislocated; it takes a lot of time; and it takes a lot of doing to once more have a traditionally associated language, having once lost one. Meanwhile, you have another language that has already entered the tent. People have said, "Well, we can be, whatever, Chippewa, Seneca, Blackfoot, whatever, we can be it in English." That is another language-culture relationship, and, because of that new relationship, it becomes very difficult to bring back and to strengthen the old language, which is already undergoing so many stresses.

Another reason why language restoration is relatively unsuccessful, with all the commitment that I have mentioned to you, despite all the sense of holiness, despite all the sense of kinship, despite all the sense of commitment, is because people do not know what to do. It is like fighting a disease without having an idea of what to do. People generally do not understand the difference between, for example, mother tongue acquisition, mother tongue use, and mother tongue transmission. They are not the same thing. So, they frequently settle for acquiring the language not as a mother tongue, but during the school experience. By then it is not the mother tongue, because they already have another mother tongue. And schools are not inter-generational language transmission agencies. Schools just last a certain number of hours and a certain number of years and then, after that, they are over. How is the language learned there going to be transmitted to the next generation? So because of this confusion, having devoted a number of hours per week, per year, at school for a certain number of years, people frequently conclude, because the children are bright and pick up language, that they have done their bit.

But they have not started a system going that is self-renewing, which is self-replenishing because after school there are many years until that child has his or her children and could pass the language on. That is really a terribly important issue, to realize that the school itself is not going to transmit it to the next generation because the society has not set up a transmission mechanism that picks up after school. School is a wonderful agency, and a crucial agency for particular aspects of language use, like literacy, versatility, or formality. But that is neither acquisition of the mother tongue nor transmission of the mother tongue. Finally, not knowing what to do and not having things like this clarified for them, people start altering all kinds of things simultaneously and that is about as desirable as taking all kinds of medicines simultaneously because you might hit upon one that might help you. But think about all the other things that are going on there that are expensive to do, which are disappointing when they do not work out.

So what to do is really a terribly important issue and what to do when is a very important issue. For example, you might have someone suggest,

> Listen, the most important newspaper in this country is *The New York Times*. Why do not we take out full-page ads in Navajo in *The New York Times* and that will show everybody that we've got a very decent language here. That should really clinch it. We are always using their language. Let them see our language when they open up their newspaper.

Well, it is just not the right thing to do. It is not a productive thing to do.

The most productive thing to do really depends on the stage that you are at.[1] Or the nature of the impairment or, if you like, the nature of the threat or the seriousness of the danger. Is the problem, for example, which is currently worrisome, that the mother tongue does not have recognition in the inter-ethnic work sphere? That is a problem among the Pennsylvania German (Pennsylvania Dutch) today. There is no more land to buy in Lancaster County. A good proportion of the youngsters marry and must go off to Kansas or some other place where there is still land, or they go to work in some factory in town. When they work at the factory in town, since they all know English anyway, they talk English to each other, not only to others working in the factory, and the elders are very concerned.

If that is the problem with the language, then you are in a certain stage of dislocation that is not very far from the transmission stage. Everybody may still be acquiring the language in the orthodox community as their mother tongue and using it in their regular services, but of the maybe four to five thousand languages in the world, the majority are not being used in the inter-ethnic work force. The majority even of those that are hale and hearty, so you have to see that problem in perspective.

---

[1] For a discussion of these stages see my book *Reversing Language Shift* (Multilingual Matters, 1991).

Is the problem that the mother tongue is neither used in the school nor in classroom education nor in literacy? Well, that is a more serious problem because literacy provides a community or it creates access to communication across time and space. It creates a community over time and space. We can talk to people who are no longer alive through literacy. We can talk to people not yet alive and far, far away through literacy. There is also a prestige factor when non-literate languages are in touch with literate languages, and the school is the literacy-conveying agency of this era. It was not always; it was not everywhere, but again I would like to assure you that most of the healthy languages of this world today are not (or not strongly) related to literacy and are not considered exceptionally school-worthy. That does not mean it is no problem because maybe it is a problem wherever you are. It definitely means there is support for acquiring literacy in some other language and that means you have got to be able to bear the strain between the language of literacy and the language of home, intimacy, love, and sanctity. You have to be able to bear that strain, that this one language, which is not yours, is the one of literacy and that one, which is yours, is not the language of literacy.

It is becoming increasingly difficult to maintain minority languages when the print and non-print media are impinging on them more than ever before. If the lack of literacy in your language is a particular weakening factor, then literacy must be developed in your language. But it will not be transmitted to the next generation automatically. The funny thing about literacy, even in languages of great literacy, is that every generation starts off with zero literacy. Even though their parents are literate. I know there are two percent of parents who come from Harvard graduate schools, whose children start off literate even before kindergarten, but that is not yet a wide-spread phenomenon. Every generation as a rule starts off illiterate and has to be made literate from ground zero. That is not the way mother tongues work. Mother tongues are self-sustaining and a new generation does not wait until it goes to school to get its mother tongue. It usually gets its mother tongue at home in the community, in the neighborhood, among the loved ones — the ones shaping the identity of the child. And if that is what your language lacks, then that is a very serious problem indeed if you want to hand it on to another generation as a vernacular. But something can still be done about that. I would say even when there are no more speakers of child-bearing age, when there are no more fluent speakers, something can still be done, but I doubt whether a full-page ad in *The New York Times* is exactly what to do at any particular time.

Let us turn our attention to different kinds of things that could be tried. Some of the things that could be tried, some of the things that should be avoided. For example, do not start too high. That is *The New York Times* start. Do not start there. Do not start too far away, if you are interested in the mother tongue being self-sustaining. Do not start too far away from things that have to do with home, family, and community on an inter-generational basis. That is where a mother tongue or vernacular is handed on. Particularly do not start too far away if you are weak and your language is about to crumble because it might crumble in another generation while you were paying attention to full page ads in *The New York Times*.

When Hebrew was being revived — a very unlikely success story — it had not been spoken in two thousand years, and those who knew the language best were opposed to its vernacular use. It was revived through terminologies, first by working out terminologies for carpentry and for kindergarten. Very close to what you need to have for every day, what adults needed every day and what teachers needed every day with those new children who were going to be the first children to be given the language very early, but not by their parents because their parents did not speak it. Rather by the few teachers who had learned to speak it. They were the ones to whom the children were entrusted. Children did not live with their parents. They lived in the children's home in a kibbutz with those teachers, the few teachers who had forced themselves to learn how to speak it, not naturally but fluently. They needed a vocabulary for kindergarten, and the parents needed a vocabulary for carpentry. So, start low. Start exactly where the mother tongue starts and try to aim at that. Even the school can help you aim at that. Another bit of advice is, do not concentrate along institutional lines. Most languages are not institutional, but informal and spontaneous. That is where language lives. Children live; they play; they laugh; they fall; they argue; they jump; they want; they scream.

When the illegal Basque schools were working under the Franco regime, they became underground schools. It was prohibited to speak Basque in public because the Basques had resisted Franco, the Fascist dictator, and had resisted him bitterly until the end. Franco got even with them. They were arrested; they were punished; they were killed; they were shot; and their language was outlawed and was laughed off the stage as vulgar, barbarous, barbaric, uncouth, and animalistic. So they had to run primary schools and pre-schools centered around resistance. They provided nursery and child care when you started school, and they provided health care for people who were afraid to visit the doctor. Because of their Basque nationalist association, doctors were afraid to treat them.

They did not institutionalizing Basque on a narrow basis. Quite the contrary, the school was a haven in the society, an underground parallel society. The schools were creating their own cultural space. Creating cultural space is very important for a language if it is to become competitive within its own culture.

I remember when the psychologist John MacNamara told a story about having studied Irish all his childhood in school. He was scolded one day by the lady who ran a candy store. He had just bought the candy from her and began talking English to his sister. "You have learned Irish all your life. How come you're speaking English? You should be talking Irish to your little sister." Later, out on the street, the sister asked him, "Is Irish really for talking?" That really did happen. It had not occurred to them that Irish was for talking. It was a school subject like geography and arithmetic. How many people go down the street talking geography or arithmetic? So a real — not institutional — social space has to be created for the language. And in the revivalist movement that Irish went through, they tried to create that space. A young adult community, a sports community, a language community for young people. All-Irish, mainly Irish, and partly Irish schools were recognized by the government, but not really very sympathetically recognized. It was a kind of tokenism. The school has to go beyond the tokenism. We must know enough to beware of tokenism. The Romansh and Friulians have an exchange program between their respective districts, all over those little valleys where they may live just a couple of miles apart but will never see each other. They send tapes to each other, so they are communicating. They send games to each other and not only that, they send games and tapes and videos home from school as family home work. Something for the family to do together, and the whole family listens to the tapes. They stay in touch that way with folks that they are not going to see as flesh and blood, talking to them and playing with them.

Creating community is the hardest part of stabilizing a language. Lack of full success is acceptable, and full successes are rare. Now that Hebrew is so well-established and vernacularized, the minister of education of Israel recently tried to open some English schools. He was attacked and raked over the coals for his efforts because some advocates of Hebrew still feel insecure. So the sense that the Hebrew language is safe has still not arrived in Israel, even though objectively it is safe. Emotional safety comes a lot later. The Franco-Canadians in Quebec are also not sure they are successful yet. They think they are suffering. The Catalans are not sure they are successful. A culture has been traumatized a long time, but it came back. So even in your lack of full success, dedicated language workers, whether they be Maoris, Bretons, or whatever, become committed to each other and therefore they are members of the community of belief.

In conclusion I want to tell you something about my grandchildren. My wife engages in laptop publishing. She publishes in the Yiddish language for our grandchildren. But let me tell you, the true lap top here is my lap and her lap and the laps of the children's mother and father. That is a bond with the language that will stay with them after we are long gone. That is the lap top of language. And if you want that language revived, you have to use your lap also with your children or your grandchildren or somebody else's children or grandchildren. *Adopt a grandchild*. *Adopt the grandparents*. It is your lap that is part of the link to sanctity, the link to kinship, and the link to purpose. Now, in our affluent American society it turns out that one of my grandchildren already has an e-mail account. He writes messages to me to give to one of his cousins on the other coast. I go from coast to coast throughout the year because I have grandchildren on each coast. I have got to be sure that they sit on my lap during the year. So he writes to his cousin on the other coast on e-mail. He has to transliterate the Yiddish language into Roman characters because e-mail only works in Roman characters, and he makes a lot of mistakes in that. But it is recognizable. He is only seven, and the last e-mail I received was a little note saying, "I have got a little mechanical bird. It speaks Yiddish. Ha, ha. That's a joke."

So there are family building, there are culture building, and there are intimacy building prerequisites for language fostering, things that *you* have to do because no school is going to do them. However, the school can put that on the agenda of what has to be done. The school has intellectuals in it. The school has a building, a budget, a time, and a place. Now it has to put the life of the language, not just the literacy of the language, not just the grammar of the language, not just the lexicon of the language, but the life of the language in the home and the community on its agenda if the language is going to be passed along.

Reversing language shift is a research field, it is an applied field, it is a cultural values field, it has new horizons, there are new things to do, things that are, if you like, differently focused than the ordinary school has been. And reversing language shift asks, "What happens with the mother tongue *before* school, *in* school, *out* of school, and *after* school?" so that it can be passed on from one generation to another. I started with a good question and I am ending with a good question and that is the question. "What are you going to do with the mother tongue *before* school, *in* school, *out* of school, and *after* school?" Because that determines its fate, whether it is going to become self-renewing. That is my question for you, no joke!

What my Hualapai Language Means to Me

Damon Clarke

I grew up in an environment that many of you may have shared. My grandparents raised me. They taught me our language, our culture, and all our relatives. They taught me a lot. I remember when my uncle (a year older than me, he's like a brother to me) and I would listen to the conversations they had with one another and with visitors. We would listen to them and if we got caught, they'd verbally reprimanded us: "Gak nyu wi:j'm de' "; "Mi yam ja' "; "Ya' mi wi'ja"; "Ya mi wika"; "O'p kyu Gak nyum wijam de."

To us, this was the natural way, we'd take this reprimand serious, this was a way of life. It was taken as, there it is, we got caught. It didn't matter to us because it wasn't the first time and it sure wasn't going to be the last. We listened well; they taught us a lot as did others in the family. But we continued on; we learned the language, experimenting with words, especially the bad words. (I need to remind you now; we were curious, crazy little kids running around, snotty nosed, no shoes, and hair uncombed.)

We didn't know any better, we didn't care. We were just small, we were "Alive" and "Happy." We didn't know or understand we were "poor." Later on we found this out. Someone came up to us and told us, "Hey, you're poor!" I believe it was a government person that told us. This was saddening, because to me, I wasn't poor. I had my grandparents, they teach me, and you're telling me I'm poor? Man, my head went down, I was like a little puppy that was scolded.

But, I remember those times: my uprearing, my language taught by my grandparents. It has been uplifting to me. I was pulled away from a lot of the ties after a short period of time when both my grandparents died. I then lived with my Great Uncle "VK" and "Auntie" in Peach Springs. It was my choice to live with them or my aunt in Kingman. My aunt was sort of mean, but the gentleness and care from an older person was more pleasing. There, I learned more about my relatives, my language, and the land. I met more older people, learned from them much of the older terminology of the Hualapai language.

But, as with my grandparents, ties were severed, many of the older people have gone on. This is one of the biggest concerns we need to address. We need to help our grandparents. We need to listen to their teachings, their knowledge. Today, I'm afraid because if all the older persons are gone, my generation could be considered the elderly. In a few years I'll be a grandparent, and that's scary! We speak of the older people, and now the younger people look at me. I think and say, "Golly, I'm still young" and realize the impact.

Languages are an issue and an everyday reality with everyone. For example, if I came up to you we would shake hands, we meet, and we converse. **All in English**. It used to be, we would come to the Flagstaff Pow Wow. I remember seeing some of the older people going into tents. They would be meeting, conversing, and speaking all languages: Hopi, Tewa, Hualapai, Navajo, Maricopa, and so forth. They were speaking all the languages among themselves, and it was good.

Now, we're talking about having our own languages saved, where it used to be mutually shared. Our values, dress, and religions have changed dramatically. In viewing our communities, I see a lot of new churches. I'm not saying they're bad, but they have changed our thoughts and ways of life.

When I'm in a classroom, unknowingly I'm wondering what the professor is saying in my language. Where's the focus here? Where's the connection? How can I connect the concept into our language so students of mine will be able to understand? Yes, there are differences in Hualapai. The dialect varies from band to band, home to home, from home to school, from young to old. I'll give you an example: One evening, my father-in-law came over to visit. We were having dinner, and so during the meal, he asked one of daughters, "Ko:' nya ha' mi ne:ka" (Grandchild, bring me some water). Our daughter understood Ko' as piñon only, and rarely heard the term Ko:'. After our visit, our daughter came up to my wife and I and asked, "Mom, Dad, why did grandpa call me Piñon?" We laughed and explained. Later on, we found out similar stories with others and how words could mean different things if said incorrectly or in a different dialect. That has made us wonder what is going on with our languages? How can we relate ourselves to that end of it?

Even with the differences in dialect, Hualapai could go down to Phoenix, Maricopa land, and we could converse in language, in customs, in dance. My people could go to Mohave lands and converse, trade, visit, and sing. But, we cannot come up to Dine' and converse now, that has changed. We don't have the Old Ways that were once honored. This exchange of Life has vanished. It would be good to have the Pow Wow return to Flagstaff at Thorpe Park. This is where everyone can mingle, have a good time, meet old friends, and meet new. It would be a way to share in language, culture, and trade again.

We haven't lost our ways in the last 500 years since the arrival of Columbus. We're still here. For many of us, our language is the key. The key in thinking, our educational system, and our ways. It may have changed, but it is still intact, although the United States is still pushing to get us into the mainstream and civilize us. They are pushing for National Standards to make all people fit the norms. But, the realization is that it will never occur. They need to come to our level, where we have our own standards.

Technology is another issue. We have huge areas that we used to congregate and discuss issues without the use of microphones. You would be able to hear without the mike and visit at the same time. This was a natural amphitheater.

Tribal governments need to become more involved in preserving our languages and ways. In Hualapai, we have pushed and adopted a "Hualapai Only" Resolution in our Nation. It is still enforced.

Community control is another area of concern. We need more control of our economic development, our livelihood, our destiny. We need to choose what is right for our people and our yet unborn.

Yes, casinos are here in our Nations. We need to utilize this technology to our advantage. The signs posted need to be in our language. The proceeds could go to language, education, cultural exchange, and maintenance.

Our schools need curriculum in place that is relevant to the child, not forcing the child to meet the standards of the curriculum. That is a backward thought. We need to take part in tribally controlled schools. Many state and Bureau of Indian Affairs Schools have their vision as, "Save the Indian." For those of us that attended boarding schools, our thoughts may differ, but attending Stewart Indian School, I believe I had good experiences. I learned other languages, dances, and met other people. We attended other Pow Wows, and the languages we exchanged with one another were a benefit. Of course, like in my childhood, we learned the "bad" words first. This was our way of humor. To get the other person to say the wrong thing and joke about it later. But in a serious way we wanted to share our thoughts and interact with one another.

As date of this symposium came near and while traveling to a workshop one day, I happened to revisit a poem that I wrote about five years ago. The conference seemed to give me the incentive to have it heard, to allow my thoughts to be expressed about our elders (my strength). I believe they are a strength to a lot of you as well.

This poem is untitled and it is unfinished and it will continue to be untitled and unfinished until I die. And It is a good Day to Die! If you take that expression literally, please don't. I do not mean it literally. You must listen to the intent, the language. Mi e:vja Mi spo: ja Mi U: ja (Listen, Learn, and Watch).

The day came, They were taken,
No one could do much of anything.
Crying, songs of mourning, sadness.
It was a time for many,
They turned, but couldn't move,
They nodded, but didn't understand,
They smiled, but were really scared.

Many sat in silence, afraid, worried
    tense.
They listened, but couldn't hear,
They watched, but couldn't see,
They froze, and screamed, "Jida, Dala, Mi Wi'wo: ja"
    ("Mom, Dad, Help me!")

Many of them tried, many died.
Some died of the mind,
    some of the soul.
Many died from loneliness,
    others died of tradition, language.
Many, many more . . . ,
    we don't even know, they're gone forever. . . .

Don't speak you language, it's no good.
Don't wear your traditional clothes, it's no good.
    Cut your hair, it's no good.

The system hasn't beaten us.
We care.
We want you to understand your world.
Your life, it's a chance.

Remember what is good:
Your language.
Your tradition.
Your family, All the relations of the World.

We are not by ourselves,
We are in Unison, Watch . . . .

Language Activist Panel Summary[1]

Jon Reyhner

The language activist panel that presented on May 6, 1995, had a number of concerns. Rosemary Christensen (Ojibwe), member of the National Advisory Council on Indian Education (NACIE) and chair of its Native Tribal Languages Subcommittee, noted that we need to change the ways Indian conferences are done and emphasized the importance of communicating in traditional ways such as the Talking Circle where everyone gets to speak as a discussion works its way around the circle. She stated that if we want to keep our languages and cultures we need to demonstrate the old ways and if native languages are important we need to use them. "If our language is to live our children must speak it." She suggested simultaneous translation at conferences to help demonstrate that some ideas cannot be voiced in English.

She thought elders need to be more involved in our lives and need to come to conferences such as this. She emphasized commitment and stated that she started a language program by cashing out her teacher retirement. She also emphasized the importance of fighting "English-Only" laws. Tribal codes were not enough; tribal languages must be spoken in the marketplace. Tribal councils should use their language in their meetings, and it should be used in the media.

Lorena Zah-Bahe (Navajo), president of the National Indian Education Association, gave her personal perspective on activism and shared information from the American Indian/Alaska Native Summit held on March 20-22, 1995. She was the lone minority teacher when in 1974 she started teaching fifth grade at Winslow, Arizona, on the border of the Navajo Nation. As a teacher she started a Native American Parent Action Committee that met at her house. The committee drafted proposals for Indian programs that got funded under the Indian Education Act and the Bilingual Education Act. She also became involved in teaching General Equivalency Diploma (GED) classes at the Indian Center. Later she served as an elected local government (chapter) official in the Navajo tribal government. Her mother is monolingual Navajo and is proud to be a native speaker of her language. She is teaching Navajo to her grandchildren. She noted how children who speak Navajo act differently when their grandmother is in the house. These actions reflect Indian family values that are passed on through the family's first language.

---

[1] The language activist panel consisted of Lorena Zah-Bahe, President of the National Indian Education Association; Rosemary Christensen, Member of the National Advisory Council on Indian Education; Marjorie Thomas, Associate Superintendent Chinle Public Schools; Radford Quamahongnewa, Hopi Traditional Leader; Kauanoe Kamanā and William Wilson, Pūnana Leo Schools, Hawaii; and Ofelia Zepeda, University of Arizona.

The American Indian/Alaska Native Summit represented the first time that the National Advisory Council on Indian Education, the National Congress of American Indians, and the National Indian Education Association had come together. These organizations were frustrated with results of the White House Summit on Indian Education that was held in January, 1992, and wanted to have a conference that would follow an Indian agenda rather than the federal government's. The conference focused on native languages and cultures and concentrated on four areas:

1. recommendations to tribes
2. a tribal perspective on Goals 2000
3. sovereignty and the trust relationship between tribes and the federal government
4. the need for a comprehensive policy statement on Indian education

She saw education as part of self determination, and she described a study session that was held in Boulder, Colorado, to work on a policy statement for the federal government that affirmed commitment to preserve tribal nationhood, including cultures and language, and to provide a challenging school curriculum.

President Zah-Bahe said that while the federal Goals 2000 plan has many admirable components, it is a state-oriented plan that ignores both Indian nations and the government-to-government relationship between these nations and the federal government.

In the past tribal leaders have put tribal economics in front of education. When Zah-Bahe spoke to the tribal leaders from 180 tribes represented by the National Congress of American Indians at their 1994 national conference, she called on them to put education on tribal agendas. She wants tribes exempted from state educational mandates, and she wants tribal languages to be "first," not "foreign," languages in schools. She called for more parent involvement, teacher training with tribal language fluency requirements, scope and sequence for Native education, technology, certification requirements waived for elders, immersion language programs, and community-centered and family-based education. The new federal educational super-centers need Indian support departments and there needs to be one major Indian education support center for the country. She decried the fact that 47 Indian education programs were being eliminated despite the efforts of Senators Kennedy and Dashale.

While the federal Goals 2000 program is flawed in terms of its emphasis on states to the exclusion of tribes, it has positive points Indian people need to look at. The program has a strong local "leave it up to the community, leave it up to the parents" focus. In the past Indians have seen the Bureau of Indian Affairs as their parents, bringing them up in boarding schools. Indian people need to let go of the federal government and assert local control. Indian people also need to become more active in lobbying and dealing with Congress and get more involved in national elections.

In conclusion, she asked where was the next generation of native language and culture advocates. They need to come out of their classrooms and become involved in the political and educational fight for tribal sovereignty. They need to be involved in organizations such as the National Association for Bilingual Education that support native languages and cultures.

Kauanoe Kamanā (Hawaiian) called on everyone to be actively involved. She noted that the Punana Leo schools were all in Hawaiian because of the tremendous pressures and ubiquitous presence of English. It was important to have boundaries within which the Hawaiian language can serve as the sole language of use. In the case of their school it was the fence around their school that indicates to both students and adults that only Hawaiian is to be used in certain environments. Such boundaries provide an excuse to parents who can say "They said I have to speak Hawaiian in the school." Almost all students in their Hawaiian immersion school speak English before they start school, and those who do not learn it fast enough from television and the general community. She told how they had to change the law in Hawai'i in order to have their all-Hawaiian schools. In fact, both English and Hawaiian are official languages of the state.

Ms. Kamanā noted how reservations also have boundaries and that these boundaries could be used as language boundaries. She said that we cannot just depend on elders. She noted the importance of getting young people involved in language preservation who have the stamina and courage to persevere in restoring native languages. Their native language teachers are also students, and they need to encourage each other in their efforts to preserve the Hawaiian language. It is important to put aside worries about whether the students will be handicapped in science, algebra, and other such academic subjects and to teach those in the indigenous language too.

There is a difference between knowing the language and speaking it. At their school all English-only speakers are required to have Hawaiian-language translators. If a Navajo or someone else visits, they translate for the students directly from Navajo to Hawaiian by having the speaker explain ahead of time what they plan to say. It is important to make the Hawaiian language the proper language to use for all situations primarily involving Native Hawaiian people. Relatives need to be encouraged to speak Hawaiian in the home. Bill Wilson noted how the Native American Languages Act can be used to force Bureau of Indian Affairs schools to teach native languages. If a school uses any federal money, it can use non-certified teachers to teach native languages.

Radford Quamahongnewa (Hopi) noted that his interest in language is for the preservation of his culture, The Hopi Way. The language is needed to pass on traditional culture. The Hopi culture is still strong, and his Hopi village is sovereign, self-supporting, and self-sufficient. The Hopi have no treaty with the federal government. His village does not support the Hopi Tribal Council and Court System. The place to preserve the language is at home and work and in cultural and religious activities. The role of the school is secondary.

The Hopi elders went to Washington, D.C., and came home saying that Hopis must learn English to protect their land. Mr. Quamahongnewa is suspicious of federal funding as he sees it as a way to get Hopi land. There is a problem in teaching Hopi in schools because the different villages have different dialects and there is no consensus among villages on which dialect to teach at the high school that serves all the villages. Television and other modern technology is getting in the way of teaching Hopi in the home. The "Indian way of life is Indian education, cultural ways, how to take care of yourself, spirituality, and self-governance." The traditional village council should take care of village government, including criminal and civil matters. The Hopi villages need to be recognized as sovereign nations, and the local people, not the federal government, should set their goals. They "need to become owners of their goals" and finance the achievement of those goals themselves. "All the native people are trying to do is to fight for their survival."

Ofelia Zepeda (Tohono O'odham) stated that "tribal people need to take back control and implement what they want themselves." She felt Arizona tribes were better off than those in many other states as they had suffered neither allotment nor termination. One problem was the lack of interest of their own population in language. "Tribal members were quite ignorant of the status of their language." She described how she had lobbied national organizations such as the Modern Language Association and the American Anthropological Association for support of native languages and been gratified by the support of both the leadership and rank and file of those organizations.

Marjorie Thomas (Navajo) noted how "it is really great to speak our own language." Navajo jokes lose their flavor in translation. To teach high school Navajo she would write a joke on the board and then go over the sounds and read and translate the joke. "Our language is powerful, it is good, and we can have a lot of fun with it." She noted how adults get interested in the language and use the Navajo language page from the tribal newspaper, the *Navajo Times*. Both white and Navajo students get involved. On the community level they labeled some food with their Navajo names for Basha's supermarket and offered to write labels for offices. Teaching culture involved teaching about plants, stars, and games, such as string games. She tries "to keep our culture alive by making it interesting for kids."

There was only a brief time for comments and questions. Gloria Emerson noted how some Christians are antagonistic to Indian languages and cultures while Marie Reyhner responded that not all Christian churches take that attitude and Wycliffe missionaries are involved in creating written versions of tribal languages. Another member of the audience noted that some youth with no beliefs in traditional culture are also hostile to Christianity, and that one "must have a belief in a higher power."

Written Statement

Rosemary Ackley Christensen

I am Rosemary Ackley Christensen, Ojibwe, Wisconsin Ojibwe Indians, Mole Lake band, representing the National Advisory Council on Indian Education (NACIE) with my NACIE colleague, Sherry Red Owl, Lakota, from Rosebud. We are part of the NACIE subcommittee on Native Tribal Languages. I am the chair of this subcommittee. It is the first time that we know of that NACIE has recognized the importance of Tribal/Native languages.

I call your attention to section 7123, programs for Native Americans and Puerto Rico, of the Bilingual Act (P.L. 103-382) passed in 1994. Note the addition of Native Americans to this statute through the hard work of Dr. William Demmert, Jr., of Alaska, now at Western Washington University, Bellingham, Dr. William Wilson, University of Hawai'i, Hilo, and others that assisted them. Now Native Americans can apply for bilingual funds with better regard to the needs of their native languages.

NACIE will hold hearings throughout the country and will especially pay attention to Native Tribal languages with a special emphasis on providing a forum that encourages native/tribal speakers to speak in their native/tribal tongue knowing they will be understood regardless of the participants' knowledge of the language being spoken. I also want to draw attention to tribal codes advising and encouraging tribes and native villages to add a section in their codes particularly relating to tribal/native tongues, including their use in daily life, in the market place, education, and in the community.

We need to encourage tribes and native villages to require native/tribal language competencies among tribal/native enterprise employees. My organization, Ojibwe Mekana of Duluth, Minnesota, has organized and written, for example, a competency in Ojibwe language that takes 66 hours for teachers and employees to learn. We recommend that schools, casinos, and so forth make time for employees to learn this competency during the work day. In a tribal school we work with, it was done from February through June and was accomplished within the time frame. This competency is not intended to teach the language toward fluency, but to allow for participants to have an understanding of language, which therefore allows an understanding of culture.

Language activists need to look at bilingual and other language emphasis programs and work up definitions needed that are relevant to native languages, especially their oral base. Elder research is needed as a respected section in current educational research. It will not happen unless we educators insist on it and make a paradigm shift in our own work-using oral research, yet utilizing excellent research techniques. By elder research I mean using elders who are fluent speakers so at to reflect truly our culture in the educational literature.

One of the NACIE initiatives undertaken with the leadership of chairman Joseph Abeyta of Santa Fe Indian School and from Santa Clara pueblo is to advise the assistant secretary of elementary and secondary education relative to infrastructure to bolster the government's usefulness to Indian people. For example, we have been paying close attention to how peer reviews are handled, how reader packets are put together, and how regulations are handled in departments that provide federal grants. It becomes extremely important to ask that regulations allow for tribally proficient language practitioners that may not have degrees, instead of the usual pattern of requiring degreed non-Indian linguists. We at NACIE are fully aware of linguists and their skills. This interest is not to denigrate them; rather we want to emphasize, note, and take advantage of our own tribal scholars and intellectuals who speak fluently our native languages. Linguists already have good jobs and decent salaries. We want our own tribal scholars to have similar opportunities.

Finally, I recommend we not meet like this so often. We are the committed talking to the committed. We need a different model for conferences. It is time to quit spending limited funds and energy on getting together to talk in English about saving native languages. When we again get together, I hope it is to listen to our elders speak to us in their native tongue, to share their wisdom, and to teach us; as it used to be when we native people got together. I call on young people to use their energy, brain power, and imagination to provide such a conference.

Media, Writers, Arts Session Summary

Laura Wallace

This session revolved around the power of the Native language when used in the media, writing, and the arts. The consensus of the presenters was that the power of language is that it heals; it sets the mind negatively or positively in whatever endeavor is undertaken and that it is critical to being whole and well.

A recurring theme was that the use of the native language is a catalyst toward strengthening the concept of *becoming*. This was expressed or defined as recognizing the importance of self, getting to know and accepting self.

Another theme that threaded through the presentations was that of the role of knowledge. Contrary to popular belief that knowledge is power, it was stated that the organization and use of knowledge is instead the power source. This originates from cultural beliefs and teachings that any endeavor or undertaking has both the potential for good as well as evil. It is important how we care for and use the knowledge we possess.

Three cases of indigenous language use were cited:

1. Setting. The setting determines behavior regarding language use.
2. Humanization/personalization of characters. Culture will dictate believability or sense of reality; distance in time, generations, and so forth will be diminished.
3. Cultural consciousness. Cultural context and intimacy with a culture will give a deeper meaning to the understanding of the language and the circumstance in which it occurs.

Other circumstances in which indigenous language is required include the necessity of historical truth. What is the story of the people in question, in their own language?

Economics is a factor in the promotion of the native language. It is used by merchants to reach a segment of people who contribute to the economy. For example, radio stations on or near the Navajo reservation have programming throughout every day.

Use of native language as a way of life includes the sharing of cultural information, legal rights (such as issues involving car dealers and pawns), meeting announcements, obituaries, and so forth.

A question was posed that asked how the subtler aspects of language could be maintained when going from oral to written form, and also if there was need for compromise. The answer was that a sacred ceremony could not be taped verbatim and preserved because in essence the ceremony would never end, healing would be suspended because the cycle would not be completed and closure never established. On the other hand due to the fluidity of language, interpretation could occur and there would be no need to compromise.

In response to a question about creative resources drawn upon in the humanities, it was established that the struggle to be free is a major catalyst for creativity in maintaining indigenous languages — that it is a bottomless pit.

Barriers to Native language use included:

- Non-acceptance by publishers if works are done in other than majority languages. Most authors stated it should not be a deterrent to pursuing their work.
- Difficulty in expressing oneself.
- Elders association of Native language with deep pain, historically.
- Shame of native language use by all ages.

Suggestions for strengthening Native language use included:

- Mentoring of youth by encouraging students to find a voice.
- Using of the language every day.
- Experimenting with new words.
- Getting involved in traditional activities.

Above all remember the adage — T'áá hó ájit'éego éiyá — it is up to the individual (to make it happen).

Individual Summaries (Deborah House and Jon Reyhner)

Selena Manychildren (Navajo) is a radio announcer from Gray Mountain, Arizona. She went to Phoenix Indian School, and she explained that while she was there she did not converse in Navajo language every day as there were too many things in the outside world. Furthermore, she never taught her daughter to speak Navajo because she was always on the run. She now believes that if you do not speak Navajo, you lose it.

She began her radio career with KFLAG, a Flagstaff radio station, 17 years ago and now works at the Navajo Nation's 50,000 watt AM radio station, KTNN. She said that language keeps the radio business going. She recognizes that the Navajo language is very important and that any language is important to maintain. Her Navajo language led her into a job. She believes that it is God's will, or she would not be doing what she is doing. She stated, "We should credit God for giving us a talent." She acknowledged that some Navajo people, even adults, are ashamed to speak their language Therefore, a sideline to KTNN is trying to maintain the Navajo language. They do this by using it more than any other station. However, there is pressure from one side or the other. She stated, "If I don't speak Navajo well, someone is there to put me down."

Radio is a boost to the economy in the areas where Navajos live, especially remote areas. They carry programs such as the Diné legal services (DNA) that give information on subjects such as what people should look for in buying a new car and how pawning works. At KTNN, speaking the Navajo language is very important; they really make an effort to reach people. She concluded, "Our language is a way of life for a lot of us. It may lead us to many things."

Simon Ortiz (Acoma) is a well-known writer He stated that in teaching language, you also are teaching the cultural consciousness. In a letter to Dr. Cantoni, Mr. Ortiz explained his point of view:

> As an Acoma Pueblo writer-intellectual, I've striven to express/employ a language that concerns itself with not only a mechanical and technical facility or use but with the poetic-literary nature it has. An indigenous language (or any language) that has only a technical articulation, no matter how accomplished, is nothing without the depth (sacredness) of the myriad connections to land, culture, and community. Literally, language as cultural consciousness brings us into being, which I tried to speak upon when I explained the Acoma language phrase, "Yaahkah Hanoh naitrah ghuh." (personal communication, 5/9/95)

Mr. Ortiz stated, "At Acoma Pueblo, 'Yaahkah Hanoh naitrah ghuh,' is an announcement that means 'there is going to be a Corn Dance.' Literally, in a word-for-word translation, it means, Corn People will happen, will occur, or come about. They will come into being. I have heard the announcement numbers of times at Acoma, and I know what it means. When I thought of it in a material or concrete sense, that is, when I visualized the ceremony of song, dance, and prayer of the Corn Dance making it possible for the Corn Clanspeople to come into being as a social unit, then it has a literal sense or meaning, but the phrase also has metaphoric and emblematic meaning as well. Corn People are brought into being as concept through song, dance, and prayer. This is a case where the poetic power of language brings something into being, life into existence. The Corn People, Yaakah Hanoh, are brought about literally and figuratively by poetically powerful language. This is an example of a literary use of an indigenous language that can be accorded academic, intellectual, cultural (and even scientific) standing as one of the world's humankind's many languages."

Ofelia Zepeda (Tohono O'odham), a college professor and writer, talked about writing in O'odham and shared examples of her writing. She explained that writers need to consider how they want to use language creatively. "We are a very poetic people. We are inherently that." Her tribe gives high value and esteem to people who can create using language.

"Little thoughts" is what they call their first "poetry." This poetry is about being creative with language, something that is easy for a people who have respect and appreciation for aesthetics. She read a poem about her father, a farmer and rancher who liked to collect farm tools. When someone died, he would make a cross to stand by the grave. "Go ask Albert" was his reputation.

She explained that she was inspired by Pima and O'odham rain, wind, and cloud songs. However, it is difficult to get presses to accept materials in non-English languages as Rex Lee Jim can also testify.

Rex Lee Jim (Navajo) is an educator and writer. He stated that it is not the knowledge that is important; it is what you do with it. He has been to conferences about the importance of native language but finds that they are always in English. Furthermore, books are always in English. In meetings in Window Rock, the introduction is in Navajo, then they switch into English. He asked, "Are they serious about preserving the language?"

He said, "The gods have already given you the Navajo language; all you have to do is tap into it. There is no doubt about where you are going — you are going to reach old age." He explained that his goal is to use Navajo language in everything he does, so he can reach the right way. It is hard, but it is important. He truly believes that Navajo language can prevent alcoholism and other problems. What is important is how people communicate with themselves. He declared, "If you use words like 'fuck, shit,' you are going to have a shitty life."

It is important to use language to achieve the desired end in life. He uses language to heal himself and to overcome obstacles. In his experience, "It is not the circumstances that determine what is happening to me; I am the one in control. There is a way to succeed in what ever you attempt. Language, home, mother, father, culture, spirits, gods are Navajo themes. Parents said, 'In this hogan, Navajo only.'" Because of his strong beliefs, his poems are all in Navajo. While he was studying at Princeton University, he noted how people there supported his writing and publishing in Navajo.

Anna Lee Walters (Paunee-Otoe/Missouria) is a writer and college educator She stated that, "The ability to speak language is critical to being whole and well. There were no Indians in any books I read in school. What was there never corresponded to what I knew from life there on Greasy Creek. That absence of Indians in textbooks motivated me. My motivation was to show how the world is viewed from Greasy Creek, then and now. We should encourage students to speak, to find that voice. Sometimes elders have an emotional connection with language that is associated with pain. We handle that pain, to our detriment, by avoiding it. When we write, we have to assume some of the responsibility for disseminating our materials. If we want it that much, that is what we have to do. Because we are a small group, we cannot impose our language on anyone else. I honor who I am. I can encourage other people to speak their languages."

Discussion

In the brief discussion that followed, Simon Ortiz said, "We all want to be who we are, Indians. We deserve that. We want to be free to de-colonize ourselves. In order to be who we are, we have to recognize the colonization process, the loss of land, etc. In order to continue as who we are, we have to have cultural consciousness; its goes hand in hand with maintaining the indigenous language."

Rex Lee Jim answered several questions about the relationship between written and oral forms of language. He explained that his grandfather refused to be recorded, saying "I'm a medicine man; I pray, sing, tell stories, and act. When someone pays me to treat them, I begin at the beginning. They get well. If I was recorded, I will be in process forever and the patient will never get well."

Simon Ortiz noted that culture is fluid. Language changes and meets the present reality. His reality as an Acoma person is not the same as his grandfather's reality.

Rex Lee Jim stated that, "If you know your language and culture well you can find human existence elsewhere. You can find another person of the same nature; you can connect beyond language, culture, race. That is why we want our children to learn Navajo. Not to be better, but to be better able to connect at that level."

Written Statement

Ofelia Zepeda

Na:nko Ma:s Cewagi/Cloud Song

Ce:daghim 'o 'ab wu:sañhim.
To:tahim 'o 'ab wu:sañhim.
Cuckuhim 'o 'ab him.
Wepeghim 'o 'abai him.

Greenly they emerge.
In colors of blue they emerge
Whitely they emerge.
In colors of black they are coming.
Reddening, they are right here.

— *Ocean Power: Poems from the Desert*. O. Zepeda.
University of Arizona Press, 1995

I have observed about speakers of the O'odham language that they are intensely taken by the aesthetics of their own language. I think this is likely the same for other languages as well. The O'odham language, like other southwest languages is rich in much of the various genres of oral tradition. O'odham continue to practice the oral tradition of prayer, storytelling, singing, and some forms of oratory. And certainly, as in other languages, the practitioners of these activities are held in high regard and have widely known reputations.

I think that O'odham speakers are acutely aware not only of mere words, but certainly of the rhythm and ordering of words even in some mundane acts of speech. However, where this acute awareness of language is most noticeable is in the oral aesthetic arts, such as "formal" speaking, prayer, oratory, and certainly, songs. My observations on O'odham song text has led me to believe that singers who dream the song text are gifted with the ability to transfer the most beautiful ideas into song language. The language then itself becomes a thing of beauty meant to please spiritual beings, worldly beings such as animals and of course humans. Following this line of thought, I would like to describe how an O'odham audience responded to what we call "O'odham poetry." The we, being a small group of speakers who attempted to create poetry in O'odham. The event was the first poetry reading of contemporary O'odham and English poetry on the reservation. The reading was for the introduction of the first book of O'odham poetry, *Mat Hekid O Ju:/When It Rains, Pima and Papago Poetry* (University of Arizona Press, 1982). Different writers read and talked about their work to a predominantly O'odham audience. Afterward during a small reception the comments were quite positive. Older speakers commented that they were not sure of what we had done in using the language this way, but that we had clearly taken time in choosing our words for these poems, and we obviously wanted these words and their presentation to be "pretty," in other words to be aesthetic for the listener. Some said our poems were a little bit like songs, but they were not sung, only spoken. The poetry reading was a very successful event. The experience was certainly positive for everyone involved. People went away with a new reference for written and oral language aesthetics.

Since then, some adult speakers of O'odham continue to write both in O'odham and English. Others joined us in promoting this aesthetic literature, and most importantly, young writers, primarily in schools, began to take advantage of the genre of poetry, both in English and in O'odham.

Finally, I want to say something about publishing in the native language. Publishers always contend that there is a limited audience who will be consumers of Native language publications, but in the fifteen years that I have been involved with Native language writing and publication I have not found that to be the case. Many people from all fields and language groups are sincerely interested in publications in Native Languages. The books published by the University of Arizona's Sun Tracks series, of which I am the series editor, have always done very well. In fact, many of the bilingual books we have published have been a mainstay for the Press. One of the most popular is *The South Corner of Time: Hopi, Navajo, Papago, Yaqui Tribal Literatures*, edited by Larry Evers. At Sun Tracks I continue to solicit projects that are bilingual for southwest and other native languages.

Section IV

Education

John Oller
Richard Littlebear
Facilitators

November Roundtable
Education Group Abstract

1. Financial responsibility for programs for the revitalization of native languages, which start with the help of federal grant money, should eventually be assumed by local agencies in order to provide program permanence and promote self-determination and community initiative.

2. Methods of teaching the native language in schools in grades K-12 need to be interactive and grounded in children's experiences at school, at home, and in the community. Develop immersion programs and use authentic narratives.

3. Recruitment of competent school teachers and on-going training of all school personnel in the native language, history, and culture are essential. All staff should be required to meet the minimum competency standard in the native language over an agreed period of time.

4. The interface between institutions of higher education and native communities needs to be defined more sharply. Changes need to be made in the certification and preparation of teachers by shifting to competency-based approaches and by bringing tribal leaders into the decision-making process.

5. Local tribal groups should be encouraged to seek "seed" money to begin serious planning for collaborative efforts: a) to enlist the support of tribal leaders in native communities; b) to begin serious national policy reform in schools in Native American communities; c) to implement programs for the revitalization of the native languages where there is local desire and willingness.

Education Group Summary[1]

This group discussed how schools could best serve the goal of native language restoration and preservation. It identified key issues of sovereignty, policy control, self determination, local community initiative, teaching methods, and teacher training, which are discussed below. Appended to this report are the group's six recommendations for improving native language education in schools.

Sovereignty, Policy Control, and Self-determination

Lucille Watahomigie maintained that unless the people, parents, children, and especially the tribal leaders, "own" a given education program, it will fail. There must be support at the local level. As a result, as Radford Quamahongnewa argued, language activists have a selling job to do at the local level. People have to believe that it is possible to remove former barriers, gain more control of the schools, and shape their own children's destiny in a more wholesome way. Children need self-esteem, which cannot come unless linguistic, cultural, and traditional values are restored to their proper place.

A key problem raised by Quamahongnewa was the matter of where, when, and to whom it is appropriate to teach the native language. Roberto Carrasco pointed out that it is also important to know where, when, and how the language is currently being used before, during, and after school. In some communities, especially among the Pueblos, the language or some stories in the language are not shared with outsiders or unqualified persons. There was substantial consensus that this kind of problem must be dealt with by tribal elders at the local level. However, where possible, the group agreed that all personnel working in the schools should study and meet proficiency requirements in the native language of the community.

---

[1] The education group met on November 17 and 18, 1995, and was co-chaired by Richard Littlebear, Alaska Multifunctional Resource Center, and John Oller, University of New Mexico. Participants included Roberto Luis Carrasco, Northern Arizona University; Damon Clarke, Northern Arizona University; Kristine Anstrom, National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education; Constantino Ghini; Juana Jose, Office of Indian Education, Arizona Department of Education; Lorene Legah, Navajo Community College; Gary McLean, Assistant Superintendent Tuba City Public Schools; Deborah Moon; Phyllis Norton; Anita Bradley Pfeiffer, Director, Navajo Division of Education; Radford Quamahongnewa, Northern Arizona University; Vernon Sells, Navajo Community College; Pamela Sharpe, Northern Arizona University-Yuma; and Lucille Watahomigie, Federal/State Programs Director, Peach Springs Public Schools.

Anita Pfeiffer and others see some Christian Navajos standing in the way of progress. She sees them as regarding native children as heathen and Navajo culture as evil. She stressed that many native children do not speak either Navajo or English well. They need to be convinced of the importance of learning Navajo. She also mentioned the intense problems of alcohol, drugs, suicide, and violence faced by native youth.

Local Community Initiative

Richard Littlebear and Gary McLean stressed the role of the home as the key to the transmission of the native language. Phyllis Norton noted the need for commitment at the local level. She asked why it is that in the seven schools where she works all the main administrators are non-Hopis and yet the children in the schools are mainly Hopis. Why is it that teachers are being recruited from Iowa, Kansas, and elsewhere, but not from among the Hopis? Students may be learning Hopi nursery rhymes but not understanding a word of any of them. The need for parental and community support for the language is not being well met. In many cases, the parents do not understand what the children are saying in Hopi. She emphasized the need for better methods of language instruction along with the development of a stronger support basis in the home.

Teaching Methods

Richard Littlebear thought there was too much stress today in classroom second language instruction on superficial grammatical analysis that just does not work. It makes no sense to have students who can name colors, body parts, and the like in isolation, but who cannot participate in conversations, give simple directions, tell a story, take part in a drama, carry out instructions, and the like. Littlebear preferred Asher's Total Physical Response method or other more holistic approaches. The group generally agreed with him. They saw the key to successful language teaching as teaching in context with a rich scaffolding of actions, story-line, dramatization, acting out, and other "see-and-do" experience-based approaches.

John Oller talked about methods of language teaching that work.[1] He described the successes of the Rotary Foundation language and literacy program in Australia and Thailand. These programs stress two methods, the use of stories and activities. Both of these involve the senses, actions, and language. The problem is to articulate the relation between language and experience. This involves unpacking of the surface forms in terms of their sounds (phonology), word forms (morphology), sequential arrangements (syntax), and meaning (semantics). If the pragmatic relation with the student's own experience (going along with Radford Quamahongnewa's arguments for holistic education and in line with Vernon Sell's arguments for student-centered education) is shown through the senses (by dramatization, pictures, showing and telling, and so forth), the language can be acquired in the same manner native speakers acquire language. Otherwise, as Richard Littlebear said, if teachers focus on the surface forms without linking them in sensible ways with the meaningful stories and activities of the children's own experience, language teaching will fail.

---

[1] For example see Dr. Oller's *Methods that Work: Ideas for Literacy and Language Teachers* (2nd Ed.) (Boston: Heinle & Heinle, 1993) and *Teaching All the Children to Read* (co-authored with R. F. Walker and S. Rattanavich) (London: Open University Press, 1992).

Teacher Training

Anita Pfeiffer expressed concerns about how many hours of native-language coursework teachers should have and what kinds of native-language proficiency standards teachers should meet. Vernon Sells had a number of ideas about how education and the use of time could be more effectively channeled. Why, for instance, do we not take advantage of the time students spend on buses? He also insisted that it is time that the institutions of higher education were brought into the local communities. There was some discussion of how native communities might build and run their own colleges. There was substantial agreement that the native communities must gain greater control over teacher certification requirements, teacher training, and the administration of schools in their communities at all levels.

Conclusion

A number of participants expressed concern about the present meeting not just turning into "just another talk session." Constantino Ghini echoed some of the sentiments placed on the table by Anita Pfeiffer relative to school dropouts and young Native Americans who are struggling with an alien system of higher education. He recommended the approach of a "bondsman" or facilitator who serves as a mediator between the youngster and the system. This, he said, has worked with the Chitimacha Nation of Louisiana. He also insisted on reforming higher education in the direction of competency-based approaches instead of relying on the mere accumulation of certain (arbitrarily decided) number of hours, a medieval system at best. On this idea, there was much agreement and considerable discussion as to how movement could be effected towards more competency-based approaches to the training and certification of teachers.

Richard Littlebear wrapped up the session with the poignant observation that he would like to have to repeat this whole conversation when he is "an older old man." To that end, with much thought and consideration, the group offered the following recommendations:

Recommendations of the Education Group

1. If grant money is used from OBEMLA or other sources to help start up programs for the revitalization of America's native languages, it should be used as seed money under the control of native governing bodies from the start who will eventually assume financial responsibility at the local level because self-determination and local initiative cannot thrive in an environment of dependence on federal funding.

2. Methods of teaching native languages in schools need to be interactive and grounded in the real experience of the children at school, at home, and in the community. These methods must involve such proven approaches as those seen in effective immersion programs using Total Physical Response, natural language instruction, experience-based literacy, and the like. Further, all such approaches need to be grounded in culturally, historically, and linguistically authentic narratives and narrative-like activities where the senses (seeing, hearing, touching, tasting, and smelling) are involved along with appropriate actions and discourse. The key is to enable language learners to understand the highly articulate relations between forms of the native language and their own personal experience. In order to do this, especially in the initial stages, it is essential that learners be given a rich scaffolding based on students' experiences of seeing, hearing, moving, and acting-out stories (e.g., appropriate personal, historical, and communal stories) and performing of procedures and activities (e.g., making a kayak, weaving a blanket, shearing a sheep, making a native dish, and so forth). These experiences need to provide students with sufficient scaffolding for them to discover the meaning and uses of the relevant forms of the native language. As this experience of unpacking and repacking texts in the target language is expanded, learners can acquire the full richness of the target language. The group sees such methods in the schools as the first necessary step towards the full restoration of native languages to their proper places in American Indian communities.

3. Recruitment of competent teachers and the ongoing training of all school personnel in native languages, histories, and cultures are essential. High quality language teaching, integrated throughout the whole curriculum, including the skills of mathematics and literacy, as well as history, sciences, and the arts, can only be achieved by incorporating invigorating staff recruitment and training procedures to

prepare them to work with students. All staff should be required to meet minimum competency standards in the native language of the community, as determined by criteria set by local language experts (usually themselves tribal elders). These local experts should work over a period of several years with tribal leaders and specialists in successful language teaching and assessment approaches. Those who cannot meet the native language standards should be encouraged to seek employment elsewhere. The goal is for every staff member to attain reasonable proficiency in the native language of the community within a reasonable time frame to be determined, together with milestones, over a period of time agreed to by community leaders (but probably in not less than three years or more than about five years).

4. Changes need to be made in the certification and preparation of teachers by institutions of higher education by shifting to more competency based approaches and by explicitly bringing tribal leaders into the decision making process. If native communities are to have genuine self-determination in the future, they must achieve a higher degree of control over the schools their children attend. Wherever possible and in all feasible ways:

a. the educational experience should be shifted from the distant educational entity (e.g., some university or college away from the community) back to the local community;
b. credit should be allowed for demonstrated competencies as shown through experience, test-performance, and on-the-job training by all school personnel, including paraprofessionals and other teachers recruited from the local community; and
c. locally recruited personnel should be co-certified along with all other staff and should be involved in the training of all staff members.

The model we are seeking is one where the local community assumes more and more of the responsibility of the language, policies, management, and development of curriculum in the schools that serve native children. Outsiders, including all non-tribal members, who choose to remain and work in such contexts must show their good will and competence at the local level by meeting language and possibly other locally set standards determined by tribal leaders. The long-range objective will not merely be to meet minimal educational standards in English (as Bureau of Indian Affairs and public schools generally seek to do), but to exceed any such educational standards first in the native languages and eventually in English as well.

5. Changing the nature of teacher-training institutions is perhaps the most difficult task ahead. These institutions need to shift from the

present system of accumulating a certain number of hours to competency-based certification. In this shift, models of successful community participation in education at the local level can provide a critical impetus.

6. To accomplish the foregoing objectives, it is recommended that local tribal groups (working in concert with the present participants already assembled with the help of OBEMLA) be encouraged to seek 'seed' money to begin serious planning for collaborative efforts to:

a. enlist the support of tribal leaders in native communities;
b. begin serious policy reform in schools throughout the nation in Native American communities; and
c. implement programs necessary to begin the revitalization of native languages wherever there is a local desire and willingness to do so.

Parents and tribal leaders must be consulted and informed concerning the opportunities to save native languages, cultures, and communities that will soon be lost forever if we do not act. Explicit in the planned expenditures must be detailed plans for:

a. communication and enlistment of support from leaders at the local level;
b. staff training and recruitment of new personnel where needed; and
c. baseline research on language use prior to, during, and at intervals after the program of language restoration and renewal is fully underway.

Early Childhood Session Summary

Gary D. McLean[1]

Participants consisted of about thirty parents, teachers, and administrators representing a variety of universities, school districts, and tribes. Discussion among participants in the session on Early Childhood Education started slowly as presenters explored their approaches, successes, and failures in reversing loss of native languages by focusing on the youngest members of tribes and communities.

Developing a Navajo Day Care Center

Dorothy Denetsosie and Ellavina Perkins discussed their experiences in creating a Navajo day care center in Flagstaff, Arizona. Some 4,000 to 6,000 Navajos live in Flagstaff, a small, thriving city located about twenty-five miles from the Navajo Nation. Obstacles to establishing the center were significant. The initial step was formation of a committee that explored need, feasibility, and financing.

Assessment demonstrated a need for such a center as a mechanism for helping children, uniting the Navajo community, and preserving the language and culture. Relocation of Navajo people displaced by division of land in areas claimed by both Navajos and Hopis is a significant factor in the burgeoning Navajo population in Flagstaff. Depression among Navajo people was found to be high. While the desire to retain the ancestral language was clearly evident, the Navajo community was not organized or well-equipped to take necessary action. Immense difficulties exist in maintaining Navajo in an urban, English-speaking environment.

Planning, effort, and determination made the day care center a reality — an important step toward unifying the Navajo community of Flagstaff. The center is currently in its first year of operation.

Navajo people refer to themselves as Diné, the People. The day care center was described as an expression of Diné philosophy and culture with a hogan-like atmosphere, the hogan being a traditional circular home that is itself a manifestation of the complex belief system of the Navajos. Elders were employed to teach Navajo language and help children begin to acquire the foundations of cultural life.

Denetsosie and Perkins indicated that language preservation efforts in Flagstaff have far to go. However, they described a significant achievement and an important initial step toward fulfilling a long-range community goal of maintaining Navajo language and culture.

---

[1] The session was moderated by Dr. Gary D. McLean, and the discussant was Lorena Zah-Bahe.

Tohono O'odham Early Childhood Education

Phyllis Antone described her tribe's efforts. The land of the Tohono O'odham extends over a large area in southwestern Arizona and northern Mexico. Mexican versus U.S. citizenship is still an issue. Some fifty-five percent of the some 17,000 residents of the Reservation continue to speak their traditional language. However, language shift is occurring. O'odham speakers tend to be older people, but many infants continue to acquire O'odham. It is used more frequently in more remote areas.

The Tribe has taken important steps toward maintaining their language. Emphasis is placed on young children using the language in the home, extended family, and in day care and preschool programs. The early childhood curriculum grew out of the community and is a systematic approach involving the elderly in instruction that makes use of stories, songs, and a full-range of cultural practices associated with inculturation.

For the Tohono O'odham, early childhood education is only a part of a far-reaching plan aimed at cultural and linguistic survival. A dictionary has been developed as have written texts and literature. The early childhood programs are only the beginning of an articulated curricular program extending into the higher grades and emphasizing history, values, music, art, outdoor education, cultural traditions, and, of course, language development.

The curriculum reflects a comprehensive educational plan developed in 1982 and is supported by tribal language policies, educational standards for students, and written responsibilities of teachers. The educational program is a well-integrated component of community life.

Pascua Yaqui Early Childhood Programs

Rosa Achondo reported on her tribe's programs. As with other programs presented thus far, the Pascua Yaqui program grew out of the needs of the people in terms of sociocultural survival. The traditional lands of the Pascua Yaqui extend across the international border between the U.S. and Mexico as do those of the Tohono O'odham. The Yaquis represent a trilingual community employing Yaqui, English, and Spanish. However, only approximately sixty percent of the children under eighteen years of age currently speak Yaqui. Most school-age children are bussed out to some thirty schools surrounding the Reservation. However, an early childhood immersion program, involving children and parents from some thirty families, is intended to eventually extend into the upper grades.

A four year grant ending in 1996 contributed significantly to the development of the early childhood education program. Stories, songs, art, and a range of linguistically and culturally rich experiences form the basis of the instructional program.

Efforts are underway to assist parents with the Yaqui language and assist them in using the language in the home. Regular meetings exclusively for fathers are an interesting aspect of the program. The aim of the fathers is to help each other in becoming better fathers, better leaders, and more effective users of Yaqui language and culture at home and in the community. At the present time, the Yaqui community is forging ahead in terms of identifying and responding to multiple issues fundamental to the survival of the speech community.

Hawaiian Pūnana Leo Program

Bill Wilson began with a cursory overview of factors that nearly led to the demise of the Hawaiian language and then turned his attention to language restoration efforts. The Hawaiian language enjoyed a rich literary and academic tradition throughout the 1800's and was the language of the territorial government into the first part of the this century. However, by 1920 language loss was apparent. This loss continued for several decades. In the 1960's culture and land rights restoration efforts began. The Pūnana Leo School in Hilo, Hawai'i, was a product of this revival movement.

The Pūnana Leo Schools are an immersion program in a very complete sense. Hawaiian is the exclusive language of the campus. For example, visitors who do not speak Hawaiian communicate through interpreters even when the message is being transmitted to people who comprehend and speak English perfectly.

The school is an outgrowth of the community and reflects a program model developed by the Maori people of New Zealand. The model relies heavily on language nests in which elders immerse young children in the traditional language. Parents of children enrolled in the Pūnana Leo School work to enhance their own language capabilities and restore the use of the language in the home. They also support the school financially by contributing considerable time to the school. Such work helps lower tuition costs.

The Hawaiian world view is transmitted via games, stories, songs, dance, and other forms of expression. Literacy is a significant part of the program. Bill Wilson effectively conveyed his passion and that of the community for preserving and enhancing the Hawaiian language. Success is judged nearly exclusively in terms of native language enhancement, not English academics. However, students immersed in Hawaiian perform better in terms of English academics than their counterparts in schools employing English as the sole language of instruction.

Immersion schools are expanding throughout the Hawaiian Islands. The schools are backed by legislation giving Hawaiian official status and granting the right to use Hawaiian as a language of instruction. Hawaiian is now a language of instruction through the university years.

Linguists are working to develop Hawaiian terms needed for performing tasks in contemporary society and in technological domains.

Discussion

In conjunction with the discussion on Hawaiian language issues, William Demmert, of Western Washington University, raised the issue of social problems and their relationship to language loss. Presenters and members of the audience agreed and provided examples in various cultural contexts in which language loss was associated with multiple forms of cultural disintegration. Problems mentioned ranged from improper placement of children in special education and psychological depression to physical health problems and family violence.

Despite the tremendous variety of participant backgrounds, all seemed to concur that language survival was critical to happiness, success, and the psychological and physical health of a community. The discussion, like the presentations, reflected the importance of local self-determination.

Where do we go from here? William Demmert emphasized the importance of building the infrastructure of a language vertically, not just horizontally, for example to develop leadership, policy, institutions, and the like. One participant emphasized that language restoration is a bottom-up process as opposed to being based on such things as legislative mandates. Demmert emphasized that language restoration is a family matter. He said, "Do not wait for agreement. Just go out and do something."

Some discussion of Goals 2000 occurred. Opinions were mixed as to whether new guidelines and current directions at the federal level would strengthen language restoration efforts or hasten deterioration and how best to promote policies that would be advantageous to indigenous speech communities. Little time remained at that point to explore such issues in depth.

As the session ended, one participant emphasized the importance of using endangered languages and developing contemporary vocabulary instead of giving up because of the absence of appropriate terminology. On that note the spirited discussion came to a halt.

Schools - Language Acquisition Session Summary

Gary D. McLean[1]

Participants consisted of approximately twenty-five teachers and administrators representing a variety of school districts and tribes from Alaska, the Northwest Territories, and the Southwest. The presenters represented programs serving students who are developing existing language capabilities in their non-English mother tongue as well as students acquiring the target language whose mother-tongue is English. This session focused on programs for students in the latter category; however, discussion was not limited exclusively to such programs, since presenters of necessity discussed the entire scope of their efforts.

Kayenta Public Schools

Helen Rosier, of the Kayenta Public Schools in Arizona, began by introducing herself in the traditional Navajo way by describing her background in terms of clan relationships. She then led into a description of the transitional bilingual program that began in 1990 and the immersion program that began in 1994. Some years ago the primary focus across the Navajo Nation was transition from Navajo to English. With fewer and fewer students entering school dominant in Navajo, progressively more attention is being focused on the acquisition of Navajo. The immersion program serves both English and Navajo dominant students. Although only recently instituted, the Kayenta immersion program is a well-organized attempt to address language issues through public education.

The program begins in kindergarten with ninety percent of the time spent on instruction by means of the Navajo language. By grade three, approximately fifty percent of instructional time will be devoted to instruction in Navajo and fifty percent in English. One successive grade will be added to the program each year as students advance. Planning for the program involved many language activists and community members. The program model at Fort Defiance, Arizona, along with advice from those who instituted that program, contributed significantly to the design of the Kayenta program.

Recruitment of students is a significant, ongoing component of the program. After an interview of approximately one hour during which time the program is explained and questions answered, parents sign a letter of commitment. Concern on the part of parents that their children will not learn English as quickly or as well as their peers instructed in English remains an issue that must be constantly addressed. Of course, some parents elect not to have their children participate in the program primarily for that reason; however, enrollment is increasing as parents better understand the program and its benefits.

---

[1] The session was held on May 5, 1995, and was moderated by Gary D. McLean. The discussant was Richard Littlebear.

Staff development began in earnest during the summer of 1994 and has been an ongoing process. The emphasis is on making speakers of Navajo excellent language teachers as well.

The program emphasizes cognitively demanding tasks. The curriculum is child-centered and expands into progressively wider domains of the family, the community, and beyond. A variety of assessment strategies are employed including use of the Window Rock Oral Proficiency Test, the Idea Proficiency Test as a measure of oral English, and Navajo versions of the Arizona Student Assessment Program.

Fort Defiance Public Schools

Lettie Nave described the bilingual program at Fort Defiance, Arizona. It started approximately ten years ago and is well-known throughout the Navajo Nation. As indicated in the discussion of the Kayenta program, the Fort Defiance model has influenced the design of programs in other school districts.

She has been a primary advocate, program planner, and teacher for many years. The school operates two programs. The first is an immersion program that is comprehensive in terms of use of Navajo and requires a commitment from the parents. The second program emphasizes oral Navajo, which is taught for a short period of time each day. The second option is, of course, far less comprehensive than the first, but meets Arizona mandates concerning instruction in a second language. Auxiliary classes exist twice per month for parents who attend with their children in order to extend the curriculum to the home.

Thematic units are a commonly employed instructional practice. Inadequate supplies of Navajo instructional materials are an ongoing problem. Teachers continue to reuse old materials and make new ones. Lettie Nave ended her presentation with a well received Total Physical Response lesson.

Tuba City Public Schools

Louise Scott and Cindy Joe described Tuba City's Two-Way, Navajo-English bilingual program. They play key roles in the design and implementation of the program. Louise Scott began the presentation by sharing with the audience her experiences in a boarding school and in school in Flagstaff, the challenges of achieving in an English-speaking environment, personal regret for not passing the Navajo language on to her children (reflecting a widespread fear of language loss among Navajo people), and concern that language loss began with her generation.

Many staff members remember Tuba City when the majority of the students entering kindergarten each year spoke Navajo. Now only a small percentage exhibit any degree of facility with the language. These students are critical to the Two-Way program. In Two-Way programs, students are ideally mixed — fifty percent speakers of the first language (L1) and fifty percent speakers of the second language (L2). Fifty percent of the instruction each day is provided in each language. An imbalance occurs in the Tuba City program owing to a lack of Navajo speakers. However, a healthy mix of Navajo speakers and English speakers exists in the two classes that comprise the Two-Way program. The program calls for a Navajo-speaking teacher and an English-speaking teacher to each spend approximately fifty percent of their time with each group, enhancing both languages in an immersion setting.

Most students are part of the Navajo-as-a-Second-Language (NSL) program. This program is less comprehensive in terms of Navajo language development. While the Two-Way program may be desirable for all students, insufficient numbers of Navajo-speaking students make this an impossibility.

In both the Two-Way and the NSL programs, whole-language activities are widely used. They include many hands-on experiences, book-making, and intensive oral language development. The program is being extended one successive grade each year, and program quality is gradually improving.

Concern remains among many parents that time spent in Navajo activities will hinder English academic development. However, according to scores on Arizona Student Assessment Program measurements, English academics have improved since the Navajo programs came into existence. Likewise, parental involvement is increasing, adult Navajo classes have developed, and the awareness of fundamental issues related to language shift is increasing throughout the community.

Louise Scott exhibited two bumper stickers seen in the Tuba City area as the presentation neared completion. The first states, "Have you spoken Navajo to your child today?" The second reads, "Diné Bizaad Shilnili," which roughly translates to Treasure Diné Language — an important value for speakers of each endangered language represented at the Symposium.

Inuvik Programs

Pauline Gordon presented most of this component of the program. Her presentation included a videotape that helped participants understand the geographic and climatic extremes that have shaped the cultures of the far north and was enriched by traditional gift-giving as well as the distribution of educational materials produced in Inuvik.

Stabilizing Indigenous Languages

While the Diné, Inuit and Yup'ik languages of Northern Canada and Alaska have benefited by isolation, language loss is nevertheless occurring. Of the three language groups in the Inuvik area, only some twenty-five percent of the people are fluent speakers.

Based on Gordon's presentation, schools and communities in the Northwest Territories seem more advanced than many communities in the continental United States in terms of inter-tribal collaboration, use of satellite communication systems, development of educational materials, and so forth.

Curriculum is mandated in the Northwest Territories, and funding for language and cultural instruction is fixed by the government. However, existing governmental financial support and local creativity have resulted in attractive, creative instructional materials published in local languages. Such materials reflect a fusion of the knowledge of elders, the creativity of teachers, and advanced production techniques. Music, dance, and art are important components of instructional programs.

Discussion

Time remaining for discussion was limited. However, a brief discussion was held concerning such issues as assessment, the positive and negative impact of higher level governmental decisions on indigenous languages, and the difficulties of adapting local languages to contemporary challenges.

Schools - Developmental Session Summary

Ferlin Clark

Lower Kuskokwim School District

Duane Magoon described the programs at Lower Kuskokwim School District in southwest Alaska. The district has about 3,000 students. Almost everyone is fluent or has a Yup'ik speaker at home. The district has a population of 17,000 with about 14,000 Yup'ik speakers. Most children come to school speaking Yup'ik. However, people are becoming aware of the decrease in fluency.

Currently, Yup'ik, and English language assessment instruments have been devised and are being implemented. Bilingual activities include co-publishing books with a Canadian publisher printed in Native languages with northern themes. Plans are being made to bring in elders this summer to co-develop these books and other learning materials using culturally-sensitive themes and materials. About one-third of the teachers speak Yup'ik. There is a need for more Yup'ik teachers. An Immersion Program for kindergarten is being planned for this summer, but the question comes down to materials, dialect, etc.

Alice Fitka, "One Who Scolds," is a kindergarten and 3rd grade teacher. Her village has 300-400 inhabitants. "I am in a Two Strand Language School," she said. "Yup'ik is either taught as a first or second language. In grades 3-10 Yup'ik is taught for one hour. There is a lack of Yup'ik materials; we have to create our own. We seek elders to tell children the history of Yup'ik lore and myths; since we have an oral history, our culture and language must be passed down through the community."

"We name our kids according to our family and culture. It is one way we maintain Yup'ik. Many of our elders are dying out. Many times I translate English into Yup'ik and vice versa. We use classroom activities such as making a family tree [great grandparents and where they stood in Yup'ik society], writing journals, writing a Yup'ik-language school newspaper, and poems created from genealogy. Kindergarten students learn Yup'ik sounds, numbers, etc. There are not too many Yup'ik speakers in third grade. High school students write seasonal stories on the use of traditional tools such as ivory knives. Elders come and tell stories. I tell stories such as using mud and traditional tools. Researchers say the Yup'ik language will be lost in the next century. Students usually respond by saying that they disagree with researchers who claim this."

"Eskimo and Athapaskan are separate. We have different ways of doing things, we have the same outlook on life taught to us by our elders; it is just that I can not speak to others because they do not understand me and vice versa. Location and distance are also factors that contribute to differences. Students use computers, and we started a computer network. Students use e-mail to write to students in other schools, including students in northern Canada. It used to take two weeks to send and receive mail; now it is quick. Students learn to use computers in 1st or 2nd grade."

Peach Springs Public Schools

Lucille Watahomigie (Hualapai) has worked at Peach Springs Public School since 1970. She worked at Arizona State University in teacher training and developed the basis for a bilingual curriculum at Peach Springs. She is now federal programs director at Peach Springs. The school tries to hire people who speak Hualapai. In 1975, 95% of students spoke Hualapai; now as parents why don't they speak and teach Hualapai to their children? Several factors are involved, going back four generations. In the past the Hualapai had no choice in who taught and what they taught within Hualapai schools. The attitude of the outsiders who ran the schools was "come to save the heathen." Young parents still feel the pain that they experienced. "Even though we now have self-determination, we continue to struggle," said Watahomigie.

The Hualapai Reservation has a population of 900-1200 with 200-300 students. There is an all-Indian school board. They are working to build a high school within the next four years even though some parents did not want it because they want their children to prepare for life beyond the reservation. They continue to teach Hualapai within schools, using local people in the school. Seventy-five percent of parents want the school to teach their native language and culture so as to develop self-esteem, pride, etc. Elders decided that they want language and culture taught in schools by using Hualapai activities, elders, community, etc. Sixty percent of students speak Hualapai. The school uses the teaching of Hualapai to meet the Arizona's mandate that all elementary schools teach a foreign language. According to Watahomigie, "We want our own people to become certified teachers. Four recently graduated and have become teachers. Ten Hualapai speaking teacher aides are working towards their degrees."

Philbert Watahomigie graduated from the University of Arizona and became a teacher and for the last seven or eight years coordinator for Peach Spring's Academic Excellence program. The program is funded from Title VII (Bilingual Education Act) as an outstanding bilingual program. It was nominated by the state bilingual department. He works with his staff on the process of curriculum development. They make extensive use of technology and have developed Hualapai instructional material on HyperCard. They use culturally relevant Hualapai material. They scan published materials into the computer and by using sound within HyperCard, and by using a teacher afterwards, students are able to learn and master the language.

They are half way through a three year grant and are currently helping six other schools develop bilingual curriculum. They are using the English alphabet because they can translate easier, back and forth, without too many special symbols.

In the course of developing a bilingual program, materials and staff development needed to be worked on first in case the federal program funds were discontinued. They started back in 1975, and these priorities were keys to making our program successful.

Awareness Presentations are conducted at schools that are interested in replicating the Peach Springs model. Interested schools sign an agreement that says Peach Springs will provide training at no cost and the recipient schools will provide staff time off for training. They make four two- or three-day visits per year per site. Some city schools are interested, but these schools have many different native languages to cater to, and some may be left out.

Damon Clarke was a teacher aide at Peach Springs and then a teacher. He received his bachelor's degree at Northern Arizona University (NAU) and is now a doctoral student at NAU.

Curriculum development needs to be centered around the child and the experiences they bring into the classroom. The curriculum should fit the child rather than vice versa. The curriculum should first bring in the home environment, then the community, and finally the physical environment, which is a holistic approach with the child at the center.

Curriculum guides are based on thematic units on subjects such as piñons, the Colorado river, and cowboys that integrate math, science, social studies, and other subjects. By using laser disks, television, distance learning, and journals in which student and teacher interact in Hualapai, the guides are designed to reach each child at his or her own academic level and allow for different rates of learning. Learning is based on students' own trial and error. They learn about other races and nationalities through access to internet and field trips, "the real classroom, the real world." At the beginning of the year teachers select the units and guides they want to use throughout the year. Units and guides are based on the school's goals and objectives, which are reviewed every five years.

American Samoa

Bernadette Manase, Mat Fiamalua, and Elisapeta Luaao gave an historical perspective on teaching the Samoan language in the schools. Educational television was introduced in 1965 to Samoans. Television education was not proper, but by the 1980s the Samoans knew what they wanted to do. They received Federal bilingual funds to develop materials in Samoan based on themes that are consistent with family and communities. Currently materials are being developed for students to use during a summer institute for K-12 grades. The effort to relate the language to music, songs, etc., is important. They are networking with other Samoans, but the challenge is standardizing the Samoan dialects so students in the east can appreciate western speaking Samoans. Students are taught social and traditional ceremonies as authentic as they can be.

Colleges and Universities Summary

Navajo Community College

Lorene Legah (Navajo) described programs at Navajo Community College (NCC). NCC offers a full-range of lower- and upper-level courses in Navajo language, including courses for speakers and non-speakers that promote listening, speaking, reading, and writing. Some of the courses include contract assignments that require learners to link up with fluent speakers and utilize the language in community settings. Other assignments deal with language routines on the tribal radio station (KTNN). The program is creating new forms and functions for written Navajo and includes courses in Navajo philosophy.

Northern Arizona University

When Evangeline Parsons-Yazzie (Navajo) started at Northern Arizona University (NAU) five years ago, Navajo classes were often canceled owing to lack of interest and inadequate enrollment. Now, 158 students are taking classes from three instructors. Learners can use the language at a limited number of sites in the Flagstaff area. Students must prepare taped conversations with elders, and they must also do advocacy work in a local nursing home and hospital. NAU also has a translation-interpretation program.

The Navajo program is now the fastest growing program in the Modern Languages Department. Courses will be offered next fall over instructional television (ITV). Many students enter class with poor attitudes and unpleasant experiences in regard to the Navajo language; hence there is a primary need for esteem development.

American Indian Language Development Institute (AILDI)

Lucille Watahomigie (Hualapai) and Teresa L. McCarty described the American Indian Language Development Institute (AILDI), which was started in 1978. The needs it was originally meant to address included baseline linguistic analyses, development of orthographies, and curriculum and materials development. Over the years, the program has been offered at San Diego State University, Arizona State University, Northern Arizona University, and since 1990, the University of Arizona. The current philosophy is that Indian tribes must control the future of their languages. AILDI now works with many different languages from all over North America.

The program utilizes an intensive residential summer instructional model. It provides university credits and state bilingual endorsements. The activities that happen in AILDI classes are meant to take place in reservation K-12 classrooms. Permanent funding has been and remains a real problem.

Positive outcomes of AILDI thus far include: newly written languages, development of indigenous literatures and school curricula, cadres of certified native teachers, forums for international dialogue and exchange, transformations in school culture, the spin-off of other AILDI-like projects, and tribal policy development.

Sinte Gleska University

Duane Hollow Horn Bear and Doris Leader Charge (Lakotas) describe the Lakota language program at Sinte Gleska University (SGU). SGU requires Lakota courses for all its students. The courses utilize tribal elders, videos, tribal archives, and other local resources. The program builds on collaboration between students and community members. It requires students to develop language portfolios. There are problems with Lakota among the Lakota people. There are orthographical differences between dialects. Everyone at the college will be required to learn Lakota in June 1995.

Teachers use props, describing them to the learners. One then repeats for another, and this process is repeated until all students can repeat it. The students are helped three times; the fourth time they must get it right on their own. They learn about things that they use; their relations; the world. A lower elementary curriculum with computers and videos has been developed.

University of Hawai'i at Hilo

William Wilson described university programs in Hawai'i. Only one Hawaiian-speaking community survived in 1982, located on the isolated island of Niihau with about 30 children speaking the language. There are very few native speakers left. Now, there are second language speakers teaching non-speakers, and the task is one of inserting the language into the home. There are also many people who want to raise their children speaking Hawaiian.

Hawaiian universities are playing a big role in Hawaii revitalization. There is a complete undergraduate program and a planned master's program. There is also a curriculum development center. There are Pūnana Leo pre-schools. In addition, there is a teacher enhancement program: how to teach mathematics in Hawaiian, science in Hawaiian, music in Hawaiian, and how to use computers to teach the language.

The total number of people studying Hawaiian at the university level is around 2,000; at the high school level 2,000; in the Pūnana Leo, another 1,000. Around 3,000 more people are also learning in community night schools and culture groups.

Native American Student Panel Summary

Jon Reyhner and Deborah House

The student panel was held May 5, 1995, in the evening and was presided over by Selena Manychildren, Kii yaa' áani clan, Todích'íi' ní, Nakai Diné, originally from Grey Mountain, 45 miles from Flagstaff, Arizona. Participating students were Sylvia Wadsworth from Navajo Community College (NCC) Shiprock Campus; Carlos Begay, Byron Charley, and Velma Hale from NCC-Tsaile Campus; and Malcolm Benally, Theresa Yazzie, Karen Andrews, Sharon Bitah, and Claudia Chischilly from Northern Arizona University.

Sylvia Wadsworth addressed the first question: "Is it worth your time to learn your language?" She answered "I appreciate my Navajo language. I'm glad I learned it and can understand, read and write it. My three kids speak Navajo; they were taught by my mom and dad." Sylvia was punished for speaking Navajo, and she first thought it would slow her kids down. But she changed her mind and concluded, "Our Navajo language is who we are." She has thought of ways to teach students in Navajo. She tells them to try to think about it and it will come to them. "As long as you can freely communicate in the classroom, it's OK. I'm glad I'm one of those who's helping them. I'm proud to be a Navajo, and speak, write, and understand."

Carlos Begay responded, "The way I think about traditional language, through it I respect my elders. I have spoken Navajo from birth. I appreciate it and these sessions. I truly believe it's good. It's worth it that you're doing it for our youth and the next generation. Maybe we'll get back to traditions. Now there's graffiti, baggy pants, and caps on backwards — that's not our people. We need to get back to tradition."

Byron Charley added, "I like maintaining my native language and the teachings in it, the songs and stories in it. It helps you understand who you are and where you come from. It gives you respect for yourself and others. You stand out in class." Malcolm Benally answered "I think the Navajo language is important. When you speak it, it creates a different reality. Language lets us seize the earth as a living vital force. We understand more. English is not that passionate and beautiful. In our prayers, it [Navajo language] directs us when we use it."

Theresa Yazzie is twenty years old and is not fluent in Navajo. She is in her second year of taking Navajo language courses. She explained that during the 1950s and 1960s, Navajos in parochial schools were forbidden to speak their language. To punish them, their hair was shaved, they were locked in closets, their mouths were washed out with soap, and they were made to hold books in their hands with their arms stretched out parallel with the floor. Her father was made to wear a gunny sack to the cafeteria. School personnel were trying to Americanize Navajos of her parents' generation. Now she thinks, "Why not be fluent in Navajo language?" She is learning that her native language is worthwhile; it is a conveyer of culture and ceremonies. She concluded, "Reading binds the world, shapes one's life and thought processes. Your Navajo language is your identity."

Karen Andrews is in her fourth semester of Navajo. She never heard her own Delaware language until the movie, "The Last of the Mohicans." The Delaware people were found on the East Coast and Oklahoma. The last speaker of Nanikok died in the 1880s, and only two people knew the creation stories. Nanikok lost all rights before there was a United States. It is recognized by the state, but not by the federal government.

She took Navajo and was excited to see people who know their language. She declared, "If you are going to teach on the Navajo reservation, you should be able to communicate. "When people are learning to speak Navajo, be patient." She concluded, "If you don't use it, you'll lose it."

Velma Hale said, "It's important to maintain your language. My language is me, my ancestors, the roots of my existence. . . . We are who we are through our maternal ancestors, our home, church, attitude, behavior, ancestral people, Talking God, etc. . . . I have learned a lot from Navajo Community College. Today's society is forgetting sacredness due to education by the dominant society. . . . Knowing your language is not a waste of time. We need to keep up with teaching and preserving our language. That's all I have to say."

Sharon Bitah is from Lower Greasewood and spoke Navajo up to the age of six. Because all of her friends were not fluent speakers, she stopped speaking Navajo. It also had a lot to do with teachers who made remarks about those who spoke lots of Navajo. She became Anglicized, became like Anglos, and disowned her language and culture. However, later she began to take pride in her language, and she is glad that Northern Arizona University has a Navajo language program. She said she uses Navajo with her family. She can understand, but not speak, all she wants to. She finished by stating, "We need to have the language when people come back and want to learn it."

Claudia Chischilly is now from Tuba City, but originally came from Shadow Mountain, where her father's family is from. "When I was growing up, I spoke the Navajo language for four years. I was taught by my nalis [paternal grandparents]. Then I went to my grandmother's and was raised in Christianity and English all the way into high school. Now I'm in college and I'm back in Navajo language. It's hard if you don't use it every day. I'm raising my children and teaching them Navajo every day. My husband speaks only Navajo and he explains what they don't understand. Two are here with me. I teach them what I learned from my grandparents and pass it on to them. Women are taught how to dress and wear their hair so the Holy People will recognize them. I appreciate knowing and learning our language. Be patient. People jump down your throat; be patient with us; don't give up on us. Be proud to be a Navajo and show it!"

Selena Manychildren confessed, "We get lots of criticism while we're on the radio. We do much of our speaking spontaneously. People call up and say, 'You said that word wrong.' We post those words on the wall. We Navajos need to clean up our language. We use English in Navajo and say *éí ya´* and *áádóó* too much. We use too many extra words. Many young people don't speak their language. Even if you don't speak your language, don't feel that you aren't a part of your culture."

The next question she posed was, "Do you believe that if you do not speak your language, you are not part of your culture? Sylvia Wadsworth answered, "Being Navajo to me doesn't mean you have to speak Navajo. I tell my students that they're as Navajo as an older person, but that they can learn to be more Navajo if they speak Navajo." Carlos Begay added, "You don't have to speak Navajo to be a Navajo or Native American. You are already Native American, your skin is brown. It's in your blood; you've suffered. There's prejudice if even Native Americans say that you're not Navajo."

Byron Charley responded "I think you would be still Navajo even if you're not a Navajo language speaker. You represent your family, ancestors, clan. The Holy People know you by your clan. Being Navajo depends on how you conduct yourself and go about your life." Malcolm Benally felt "There are lots of Navajos, but few Diné. KTNN sold out to corporate people; they sell cars. They don't show enough interest in stimulating what culture's about." He said he was bored in his Navajo language class where they only wrote simple sentences. It was the Bureau of Indian Affairs mentality. He continued, "In Navajo culture, you are directed to know certain things. If the tribe said to use the Navajo language to teach about the earth, environment, health, etc., the language would survive."

Selena Manychildren responded "We are a commercial radio station, very different from public radio. We sell ads to generate money. We generate money to run businesses. All our Navajo money goes off reservation. Navajo businesses need to keep business on the reservation. Without commercials, there wouldn't be a radio station. People come and help with programming. The responsibility is on public shoulders if you want to help. Navajo night is on Sunday night. It's done by a Hopi woman, Laurie Lee, who takes the time to stay late and do it."

Theresa Yazzie answered, "You are still a part of your culture. You still feel Navajo. . . . You are expected to know who you are and where you're from. I go to Squaw Dances and Yeibiches and attend what I can.

Part of me is missing." Karen Andrews added, "This shows you what division and strife will do to a people. My mother said it used to be that you couldn't be 'Indian' on your birth certificate; you had to be white or colored. We grew up [the way we did] because the younger generation laughed at the old people who said they were Indian. The young people said, 'You're just colored.' You need to have a respect for each other or you'll lose it."

Velma Hale continued "I think as Anna Walters says: The spoken word is alive; it reproduces. To be an entity, created by thought and sound, created by voice. Language created by all life, all voices. We are that language whether we know it or not.

Sharon Bitah added, "I personally believe it's not a matter if you know your language or not. . . . There are people who are fluent, but don't participate. It's what you want, not what others think." Claudia Chischilly maintained, "If you know your mother and father, and family are Navajo, even if you don't speak your language, you're still connected to your culture."

The next question Selena Manychildren asked was, "How would you like to teach the Navajo language?" Sylvia Wadsworth declared, "Start from home; it's the responsibility of parents because I learned from my parents. Read and write; it's hard. I learned by reading the Bible and taking classes for that. That's my feeling." Carlos Begay concurred, "It should all start within the home. Parents and elders should be the ones to teach. Schools should keep it going; grow more; the tribe should do something, provide more funding." Byron Charley agreed with Sylvia and Carlos. He said that he uses Navajo at home and English with his friends. Malcolm Benally also felt that Navajo language teaching should start in the home.

Theresa Yazzie felt that the way she had been taught was good. "Begin with the sound system, put things together, vocabulary words, make labels for things in the room. See and hear: practice. Build a strong foundation and slowly put things together in sentences." Karen Andrews also suggested starting with young children. "Teach through drill. Make it fun, a game. Do it on their own. Don't teach slang; speak clearly; don't slur; have high expectations. Immersion would be good; kids could live with grandma for the summer. Don't let the old words die. Formal Navajo literacy: language will never die. Teach diacritic marks. . . . Teach how valuable Native American culture is."

Velma Hale stated that she believed in bilingual maintenance programs which use Navajo and English equally. "We are created equal. Teach the four parts of the day, four colors, alphabets, self-image, identity, sentence structure, differences from Anglo society. Learn about yourself in a more intimate closer way, read and write, interview elders like on KTNN, and learn different units, alphabet, directions, calendar, numbers, and what your name means. Lastly, teach sentence structure to know and accept self. English is a tool for survival, not a way of life."

Sharon Bitah felt that there should be a lot of conversation. In addition she called upon Navajos to, "Promote literacy. Using the sound system is really important. Learn to read more; it's important. There is a problem with the textbook we are using. 'See Dick run.' I wanted more technical words. It's no different from first to last. There should be more in the textbooks. Talk more Navajo in classrooms. Speed up things. If you don't practice, you lose it." Claudia Chischilly stated, "My husband and I say that it should be in the home. It will look bad on us parents if our child learns Navajo from that teacher. I think it should be from the home."

Selena Manychildren then opened up the discussion to the audience. Ben Barney, director of the elementary teacher education program at Navajo Community College-Tsaile, commented, "When I switch to English, there's no hesitation about what I'm saying or thinking. It's very simple and straightforward. What's the problem? Why are you making it such a big issue?" Malcolm Benally responded, "I think it was only yesterday that our ancestors were in Fort Sumner. I feel sorry for you. I wrote a short poem in Navajo and a long one in English. I come from Big Mountain where people are persecuted for trying to live their way of life. I can read it for you."

Big Mountain

Malcolm Benally

In Big Mountain begins a corn pollen path;
in her home an old grandma has begun weaving a rug many times
and many times her rug was finished in song.
Many times a grandfather has gone
to water his horses and to tend his sheep;
into the distance his figure disappeared
only to return singing a new song.
Under Big Mountain, inside a hogan,
many stories have been told by the fire,
in this way much is remembered.

In Big Mountain
grandfathers and grandmothers and ancestors before
with freezing hands and feet and failing eyesight
walked into the howling snow storms
to pick up new born lambs
wet and cold from the womb
into this world;
held the lambs close to their hearts all the way home to comfort,
to rest only a few hours before they join the flock;
beside the fire their stories have been told,
in this way
much is remembered.

In Big Mountain,
the first sounds of a newborn child have been heard many times;
this child walked and grew
and learned the language of the People
to pray for his people
and left from the people again
into the wind, into the sun.
Yet, these stories are still heard
in the calm winds and the dancing of the harvests
and so this path is still followed on the corn pollen path
and in this way all is done in beauty.

Today in Big Mountain
grandfathers and grandmothers sit by the fire
at this moment with their children under this sun
waving their weathered hands above the crackling fire,
fire dancing in the aging eyes and on the faces of children,
gesturing slowly at their soft spoken words of peace
praying and handing down
the stories of the journey to the sun,
passing on traditions and speaking
longing of a world gone by;
a newborn day is coming
in Big Mountain.

So here in Big Mountain the women sit before their looms
to weave a new story
to come closer to the silence;
stories
brought forth from the silent winds and female rains
wide ruins and gray hills told to all who can hear
the stories being told
in this way
all things on corn pollen path are done in beauty.

In Big Mountain
the children learn to walk in the two worlds
of the west;
grandpa stands under the new dawn within the four sacred
mountains
to pray to the east,
to offer pollen to the Gods
dawn breaks another day, Father Sun
in beauty, corn pollen path,
all is done in beauty.

Grandfather and Grandma,
thank you for this life this day
for those stories
that I have just heard from you for the first time
for you have journeyed further in the sun
like looking from the highest mountains;
you have seen further than youthful eyes.
So here I stand in this life under this sun at this time
till the day I truly do see the break of dawn to which you pray
Grandfather, bring the path which is made of corn pollen and
I will no longer walk in two worlds
but in your path
in this way in beauty it is done.
Paah!

The Navajo version of the above poem by Malcolm Benally follows:

Dził Nitsaa

Díkwíídi shį́į́ Dził Nitsaa biyaa dóó binaagi
Nihimá dahiistł'ǫ́ áyiilaa, ha'íítł'ǫ́ dóó ni'nítł'ǫ́
Nihicheii ch'ínínil, łį́į́' taah yiyííłóóz
Dził Nitsaa biyaagi, hooghan nímazí biyi' didooljéé', hóone'
Ts'aa' yaa niitą́

Nahasdzáán Shimá,
Díkwíídi shą' Dzil Nitsaagi awéé' biinéí sidíníts'ą́ą́'
Ats'éé' dibéeghan biyi' łeeh yitą́ągo sodizin sidíníts'ą́ą́'
Ne'awéé' neeyą́, kéyah yikáá' nideel'eez, dahdiiyá,
sodoolzin, neeshjool, *háláane', páah!*

Shimá,
Haa néeląą́di shą' nikéyah bikáa'gi nee yas yítso?
Díkwíidi shą' chííł biyi' nila' dóó nikee' yistingo
dibé chí'í t'áá ditłée'go
nijéí t'éiyá bee sidogo
hooghangi néíníłtį́
bá didííníłjéé'?

Shicheii,
Díkwíidi shą' hayoołkááł biyaadóó nííníyá,
déél ninááł eekai, ayeel íínilaa
Shimásání, shicheii shił hólne', didííłjeeh
deezhchxííł lá

Dził Nitsaagi
E'e'aahjigo, Dook'o'oosłííd biyaagi, Dziłíjiin bikáa'gi
Hooghan nímazí si'ą́ągo biyi'gi, e'e'aahjígo
ayaa azkaad bikáá'dóó
sodizin, sin, hane' hahat'ééhdóó
si'ąh naaghéí bik'eh hózhǫ́
Díí łą́ą kwe'é nihee'í'ool'įįł

Wóshdę́ę́' táchééh wohjeeh!

Dzil Nitsaagi
tsá'ásdzi'
táláwosh
tádádíín
da'ák'eh
tó
Hózhǫ́ bee k'é, éigi

Shitsílí, shinaaí, shádí
Ha'át'íísha' biniinaa jóhonaa'éí biyaadóó nííníyáago íínílzhiizh?
ti'hosííníinii', dibáá' sínílį́į́', niyi' náhooltsei
Háláane' nihikéyah, nihee'í'ool'į́į́ł,
áłchíní, iiná, tó, tádídíín ałtaas'éí

Dził Nitsaagi, Dziłíjiin Bikáa'gi
Shimá, shizhe'é, shimásání dóó shicheii
Shiláadi tádííníyá, shiláadi nitsísíníkééz
Dził bikáa'gi hajigháago jidéé'į́į́' ígíí biláághgóó hwiiniłtsą́
Shił hwíínílne', shimásání dóó shicheii t'áá nínáshniih
Binahjį' hózhǫ́ǫgo nahasdzáán bikáá' naasháadoo
Ahéhee'
Nahasdzáán shimá náshíshchį́, páah!

So that is what I thought, when I thought like you.

Ben Barney stated "I don't see myself as different personalities in Navajo and English; I'm the same personality in both languages and cultures. Most Navajos say I don't look like a Navajo. There is no conflict. I do totally have both sides. My father spoke Navajo, Spanish, and English. . . . My mother speaks Navajo only and understands English only when she wants to. There is no conflict; I speak English, and have no problem with it. I speak Navajo, but I'm the same person. That's why I say there's no problem, and I also speak and understand other languages, too." Theresa Yazzie responded, "You're very fortunate to be from such a family. I started in English and it's hard to learn Navajo later. The reason you're confident is you know who you are."

Velma Hale thought it was important to be able to tap into both cultures and to integrate them. She sees education as a tool of survival, not as a way of life. "A lot of Navajos are caught; they can't integrate or go into both sides. They turn to alcohol. Education teaches you to think, not feel. You have to go out in life, to seek and hunt. Take care of language and use it in the right way." Sharon Bitah continued, "All I can say is there's no conflict here. I commend you; I share it. We are walking in two worlds. As much as we might not like it, playing by their rules. It helps to think like them. Maybe one day they'll play by our rules." Claudia Chischilly concluded, " I have no conflict; I can switch. I can talk whatever language I use. As you grow older, you have experience."

Selena Manychildren concluded the evening by thanking everyone for their participation.

Adult Education Session

Deborah House and Jon Reyhner

The adult education session was moderated by Deborah House and included Anna Lee Walters, Emmit White, Esther Scott, Jorigine Bender, and Gloria Johns. Each speaker described one or more native language programs for adults in their communities. There were many parallels between programs in their organizations and the themes they dealt with in adult language classes, including legends about coyote, emergence narratives, and so forth. Adult programs faced many problems, including scarcity of materials, the need to develop original materials or to modify often unsatisfactory existing materials, small class sizes, high drop out rates, and limited financial support (often using "soft" money). Program strengths included:

- Seeing small classes as seeds with the likelihood of rich harvests in the future.
- Learning in these small classes extends into family and community.
- Making extensive use of elders and traditional materials, underscoring the indivisibility of language, culture, and traditions (including art and music).
- Using computer and other technologies.
- Using community colleges as a home and structure for education programs. College credit provides additional incentive and validation for adult language classes.

Points discussed included: 1) the motivation for teaching these classes, including the satisfaction of hearing these students speak and commitment to the language (If not me, then who? Some personal sacrifice is required, including time away from family and a great deal of preparation time.); 2) the fact that the cost of computers can be at the expense of other programs such as field trips; and 3) the need to maintain a one to one relation between students and instructors and the need for authentic back and forth conversation. The individual presentations are summarized below.

Pawnee and Otoe-Missouria Language Programs

Anna Walters reported on Otoe language programs. The Otoe language is related to Missouria in the same way that Athabascan and Apachean are related. There were only about 100 Missouria left alive in the early nineteenth century, and they joined their relatives the Otoes. Today there are only two Missourias left. They are the oldest members of the tribe, a sister who is 106 and a brother who is 97. They are fluent speakers of Otoe.

The Otoe have been a small tribe since contact. In historic times, they have been as few as 300 people. They were removed from their Kansas/Nebraska homeland to Indian Territory and were deeply affected by the experience because their land is known through their language. In Oklahoma, they were put on a reserve of one million acres, which was later reduced. They were about 1500 at that time. However, despite reductions in land and numbers, the tribal government still uses the Otoe language predominantly.

There are three reasons for the breakdown of Otoe language: 1) They were forced to leave their homeland and that affected language. 2) There was a psychological factor, an emotional response to the loss. People became unwilling to learn the Otoe language because it was associated with pain and hurt. Older people speak about it in this way. 3) There are only a few people left and everyone is related; therefore, people have to marry outside the tribe. There are only a few Otoes married to each other. In a mixed tribal marriage, family members use English.

There are more Pawnee than Otoe. Right now the population is 2,507. Thirty miles separate these two groups in Oklahoma. Pawnee is also used in tribal government. The Pawnee are related to the Iowa and Winnebago and are close to Otoe speaking groups. There are less than ten people who are really fluent, who can talk day and night without shifting to another language. Others can speak; some can read. However, there is not a high level of fluency. Pawnee is a Caddoan language that was written at the turn of the century, mainly by scholars. A related language group is Arikara. There are about 100 Pawnee speakers.

The Otoe tribe hires individuals to implement the Otoe language in adult education, where anyone not a teen is considered an adult. There is a language center with formal classes and the language is used in informal settings as well. Otoe is also taught at the Frontier High School on the Otoe reserve. This high school is part of a public school district, which went to the Otoe government leaders and asked who should teach Otoe and made a grant application. The resulting class meets one hour each day in the high school with an Otoe elder as the instructor. There are twelve in the class, which is made up of Otoe young people and others in the community who are interested. The class is offered in the high school for elective credit. The person responsible for putting together the program is not Otoe but does work for the tribe.

There are forces that both promote and hinder the preservation of the language. Tribal scholars have an interest in this task. In addition, there are publications funded by grants. However, there are only two books. There are problems with teaching the language. For instance, you have to hear the words and speakers. There are alternate ways to say the same thing. Standardizing of the language is not supported by many elders. There is a need to strengthen the speakers who do exist.

Pawnee Adult Education is run by a young woman, Merle Rubidoux, who set up and maintains the Pawnee language program. Classes meet two times a week for five to six weeks. These classes are scheduled regularly throughout the year and use Pawnee elders as resources. Students listen to elders speak and also learn to write. There is a set of tapes to supplement the elder's instruction. However, these are old materials and nothing newer is being produced.

In class, anyone can participate through dialogues and conversations. In addition, they are exploring putting things on a computer. Pawnee is not offered in the school system. It is strictly through tribal community efforts. The tribe has the last word, but Bureau-of Indian Affairs (BIA) has the money. There is a concern that these languages will die without these efforts. All are encouraged to participate, but the attendance is usually only about twelve at a time.

In conclusion, Ms. Walters explained that in 1804, Lewis and Clark reported only a handful of Otoe and Pawnee people and said they expected these to be soon wiped out. After the Missouria reduction, it was expected that they would soon be wiped out. Yet they are all still here. However, they have different problems than larger tribes such as the Navajo with over 200,000 people. The Navajo tribal language is preserved. This is really different from having 100 people or 500 people. The two language groups look at the same questions in different ways and focus on different problems.

Pima Language Programs

Emmit White shared what the Pima River People of central Arizona are doing. He has been interested in Pima language for 25 years. He has taught on the reservation in a parochial school, in his village, and at Central Arizona College. He came to Salt River and worked with Caroline Antone and got his schooling from her in technical and linguistic matters. He also saw Lucille Watahomigie teach. Based on what he learned, he developed a community-based program that came out of the education program at Scottsdale Community College. The result was a three credit course in what the school characterized as a "foreign language." To Mr. White, it was strange for his own language to be described that way.

He uses the concept of "Man in the Maze," a traditional design from Pima baskets. He explained, "Where we're from, past and future, are represented in the maze. There are four major points where we make decisions to change our lives and four directions: physical, mental, social, spiritual." This is presented in the first lesson. Before coming to

Salt River, he was used to the Hualapai project where they have circles. There are four types of letters or designs: stars, squares, triangles, and one other. Those designs represent the four areas of one's life: infant, young person, adult, and elder. They use this concept to bring in people and help give them identity. He also includes traditional songs in lessons. A teacher's guide for all the lessons, starting with "the maze" up to Lesson 27, has been developed. He uses this plus his own experience and that of his relatives. He deals with people's roles in life as Pimas, their responsibilities, and kinship. It covers four generations and starts over. By the 27th lesson, the student can read Pima.

In this Pima language course he does not guarantee fluency; he teaches 250 words in 16 weeks as a way to begin to learn about the language. His teaching is very informal and no tests are given. All ages attend. Elders come in. Kids play around. It does not bother him; he works with the whole family. He says, "You have to think Pima to talk Pima. There is so much to learn."

The program adopted the Hale-Alvarez orthography. Mr. White explained that he never knew this information before but learned all about it from Caroline Antone. Together, they have written three songs down and translated stories about roadrunner that they are trying to publish. One story is about what roadrunner used to look like versus what he looks like now. The story is written on the bottom of the page in Pima. It is hard to translate. They also use Anna Moore Shaw's *Pima Legends* as a source of material. They read the story and then wrote it the way they would like to tell it.

There is one old couple who comes to class. They have attended the course all four times it has been offered. They understood the language but did not speak it. "In a year and a half, she can talk real good." Now they are learning legends about Coyote and Roadrunner. Those lessons are what the husband used to hear growing up. In Pima teaching, they leave the stories open for students to apply their wisdom to their own life.

There is also a class for tribal employees, for college students, and community members. He does grading and other work. He gave a set of the materials to Sister Juana at St. Peters; she uses it to teach for one hour a day. She is an O'odham woman, but still the kids learn.

Mr. White said this has been a long hard struggle. He would love to do the same thing one day on his own reservation. His people need it. His children are learning from his own mistakes. It took two years to develop this class. He has taught it four times. They are on the fourth edition of their books. The first edition is in the archives. He is also the coordinator of the bilingual program. It is community based and tribally run. A plan to transfer the course to University of Arizona's linguistics program is in the works.

Yavapai Language Programs

Esther Scott is from Prescott. She was approached and asked to teach the Yavapai language. "We really want to learn; can you teach us?" This request brought her out of retirement. She requested a linguistic consultant, Dr. Yamamoto, and they agreed to pay his expenses to come three times a year. But still she did not say yes right away. She got advice from Lucille Watahomigie in Peach Springs. When she finally did take the job, she started with the alphabet, so she could sound and write words and make an alphabet book. She photocopied lessons with space left for art work. They could not find an artist, so they used petroglyphs. She worked with adult students, starting with fifteen but ending up with only two students and her son. Those students got a certificate of achievement at the end of the year.

The content of the course was greetings, verbs, feelings, wh-words. There were 14 lessons at first. The first class met two times a week, but this year they only met once a week, and seven or eight stayed on almost to the end. However, when they were almost finished with the course, they were put on another task and not allowed to complete it.

"What my grandmother said?" was one of the topics. "What my grandmother said" is similar to the Ten Commandments of the Bible and concerns how to behave. Those were good lessons, including stories of long ago and the facts of life.

She thought she was through with her work at the end of the year, but the two wanted to go on. She said that it was up to the council. She wants to connect words and make stories. The council agreed, and she started up again. She wrote little stories about going to the restaurant and thunder, lightning, and rain. Later she will go into legends and coyote stories. She had to learn and search out information. At first she could not talk without mixing in English. In her family, they all spoke Yavapai out of school. She has been really happy with her group. They wanted to learn and worked hard, coming every day.

The second phase has been a little harder. In the first group, they laughed and laughed. The chairwoman looked in and found them laughing. It is hard to pronounce some Yavapai words.

Hualapai Language Programs

Jorigine Bender grew up speaking Pima. She learned Hualapai and Havasupai and lost her Pima language. She has worked with the Hualapai language for 18 or 19 years, developing her own orthography. She recorded stories from grandparents. She currently teaches at the K-8 public school in Peach Springs, which is a two hour drive west of Flagstaff, Arizona.

She has been in the classroom for four or five years and has developed materials and curriculum, including an ethnobotanical (plant) unit. They have a lab with 25 computers with the language on them.

Students use the language for 25 minutes per day. They listen to sounds, see letters and vocabulary, record themselves and compare their efforts with those of fluent speakers. This is done in grades K-8.

There is lots of intermarriage, so even when parents try to speak their language in the home, they end up using English. Kids who learn Hualapai at school bring it home and surprise their parents. The parents asked Bender to teach them. They paid her with gifts, which she passed on. She started teaching language at a community college in Kingman with twenty or thirty students, but ended up with three to six. Three are starting to speak the language. That is what happened in her conversational Hualapai class. She ended up with those who were devoted.

One student told her, "My wife is not Hualapai, but she's learning; I share it at home." People began to speak the language at home, even people who were not tribal members. Children are picking it up. She has a Hualapai Reference Grammar Book and writes out lesson plans. Now there is a "Beginning Hualapai" class. They started with speaking and ended up by adding literacy. Lessons are modified for children. Students learn greetings and names of things in the classroom. Students need to be praised like kids. "We're like a kindergarten." Praise will keep students going. The students study the orthography on computer and mix reading and writing.

Once there were fourteen bands with dialect differences. However, the meanings are the same. She asks students to listen to how elders speak. She can identity a family by speaking to people. Students are picking up on this. Most of her students are older than she is. They ask how she knows how to speak Hualapai, and she tells them that she grew up speaking it. Elders still ask her to come in their homes and teach them. They even give her little tests about old words.

To teach the language, fluent speakers need to take linguistics courses and consult with elders who are fluent speakers. It is hard to translate English to Hualapai and it takes time.

Navajo Teacher Education Program

Gloria Johns is the coordinator of Navajo Teacher Education program at Northern Arizona University (NAU). In conjunction with Navajo Division of Education at Window Rock this three year program is funded by the Ford Foundation to increase the number of minority teachers in the United States. They are one and a half years into this exciting and unique program.

Criteria for admission to the program includes: admission to the University, admission to the teacher education program, and fluency in the Navajo language. Students are usually working on the last two years of their elementary education degree.

Navajo language courses are taught through Navajo Community College (NCC). Classes are taken to students on-site at Tuba City, Kayenta, Ganado, and Chinle on the Navajo Nation. The program looks for Navajo faculty members. They currently have seventy students in the program and graduated four certified teachers Fall 1994. One more will graduate in Spring 1995. Approximately 30 students will be graduating in Fall 1995. Despite this success, there is a problem in regard to how to fund the program after the Ford Foundation money is spent.

Students in the program have to take five Navajo language courses. Eight classes are required through Navajo Community College and the Navajo Nation to become certified Navajo language teachers. Beyond that some graduating students want English as a second language (ESL) or bilingual education endorsements. Several students want to go on and work on master's degrees.

Many students were teacher's assistants for years and have children. Many are single parents and the main source of income for the families. Their median age is 38. There were barriers at higher educational institutions such as required tests for college admission. NAU did away with Pre-professional Skills Test (PPST) that had kept many American Indians from entering the NAU teacher education program.

Faculty are trained in the Diné Educational Philosophy, and it is incorporated into class work. Formal western education is a linear thinking process. Ms. John said, "Navajo language and our own natural way of life and thinking is a circle with four cardinal directions. Traditional stories are taught for the morals behind them. A basis for discipline is found in emergence stories, 'Our way of thinking.' The new way is fragmented. Now we are putting back learning into a whole, into a circle way of teaching. Elders address what is happening to the young: lack of respect, loss of teachings, and social and economic issues."

She stated "It is good that the Navajo language is being written and put into lesson plans though it is hard to publish in Navajo and to get attractive textbooks. Navajo language allows students to feel comfortable to express thoughts and feelings. Thoughts, songs, and prayers are in our language. The faculty work with students to develop curricula in Navajo and to put students' writing, oral history, interviews, and summaries from elders into books. We are asking ourselves the question, Is teaching of native language only a school subject or is it to create more speakers? What about increasing the use of Navajo language outside of school? Native language is very powerful. Discipline is already built into it. Teaching in Navajo keeps students in control; it reminds them how to act properly. English goes in one ear and out the other. We need to make learning the native language exciting and fun."

She continued, "The Navajo Teacher Education Program is successful. At the university level there is a need for connections between schools and universities. Conferences like this need to be ongoing."

Additional Papers

American Samoa
Language Arts and Culture Program

Bernadette Manase, Elisapeta Luaao, and Mataio Fiamalua[1]

As early as 1965, the Samoan Director of Education mandated Samoan be taught to levels 1-4 in public schools. The concern at that time was the apparent deterioration of some of the basic Samoan courtesies expected from students. It should have started in Early Childhood Education, but the thought was nevertheless important in later thought about the place of Samoan in the Department of Education's Language planning. At about this time, television was a medium of instruction in public schools, and it was a convenient method for the non-Samoans in particular. The course included reading and writing.

During the 1970s, levels 7 and 8 were added. The high school program included Samoan as an elective. In the latter half of the 70s, the government of American Samoa through the Department of Education (DOE) launched a very aggressive bilingual program in public school s with federal funding. Much of the funding was used for developing instructional materials, training personnel, and providing workshops. Some of the workshops and fact finding missions were conducted in the independent state of Western Samoa, which at that time had a very strong program going in all public schools from kindergarten through high school.

Toward the end of the 1970s, the Samoan Studies section of the Department of Curriculum and Instruction (DCI) was developing a separate Samoan curriculum to be offered to Levels 1-12. By the mid-80s, the DCI began to shift its focus from bilingual programs to development of monolingual programs in Samoan for all levels. This section of the DCI has at this time changed its name to Samoan Studies. An ambiguity in the latter title as well as the nature of the instructional materials thus far developed are slowly giving preference to Samoan Language Arts and Culture (Gagana ma Aga a Samoa) as a more appropriate title.

It is no longer political rhetoric to say that "we're losing our culture." It is a reality, and language is a vital component of culture that is now being encouraged to prevent this loss. America Samoa is already fighting, hopefully not a losing battle, to recapture its culture. The impact of the mass media in these tiny islands and the high mobility of the people, especially to Mainland USA, are posing some very serious problems about the role and functions of the Samoan language. School students from early childhood to high school prefer to use English rather than Samoan both in classrooms and during social interactions. These students fall into two general classifications:

---

[1] Samoan Department of Education Department of Curriculum and Instruction

- those who can speak English comfortably
- those who do because English is more prestigious than Samoan

The critics as well as those from the very mobile section of the population maintain that to know and to speak English means ensuring a good, money-earning occupation. In fact, these people equate this with academic capability and success. The students who are in the latter classification are fearful of being called "dumb."

Teachers of Samoan language and culture are fearful that students are learning language only superficially, whether it be English or Samoan. Many of the students in all of the public schools have been born and raised where Samoan is widely spoken. For most, the primary language needs to be developed first before the second language can be learned and understood properly.

The instruction materials that we have developed are aimed at enriching the local language repertoire of the children. Carefully selected items of the Samoan culture are inserted into each level of the courses complete with its special language characteristics (polite/chiefly) so that, as the everyday language develops, other aspects of the language with the appropriate material culture that go with it are gradually fed into the language experience of the children. At the present time, we are writing a course for the non-Samoan students as well as those Samoans born outside of Samoa, including those who move back and forth between Samoa and the mainland.

A Samoan language arts and culture program is currently being implemented in American Samoa public schools from early childhood education through high school. The Director of Education has mandated that Samoan be taught in Samoan in public elementary levels in the morning either before or after English reading. The directive emphasizes that Samoan is of equal importance with English. A curriculum is being piloted in a six week summer session for early childhood education students to enable them to read in Samoan when they start at kindergarten during the 95-96 school year. The Samoan Language Arts and culture section of DCI also conducts a Samoan Literature Writing Contest for five months of the school year, which culminates in a Festival of the performing arts and showcasing the written literature in elementary and secondary levels. Finally, the maintenance of the

Samoan language is further strengthened by the directive that mandates Samoan as a required course in all public schools.

Traditional chants and nursery rhymes are used to teach younger students. The content of their courses are closely aligned with topics about Samoan life. Many of their legends are narrated and accompanied with traditional chants. The traditional "Ava" ceremony that is an expression of love and friendship the Samoans offer to guests and friends when they are welcomed into a village, was demonstrated at the symposium. The Ava Ceremony stands at the very heart of Samoan culture and manifests in a special way some of the best elements of Samoan character. It is an expression of friendship and love we bear each other when we have the occasion to express it. It is a seal for the laws and agreements set by village councils for villages to live by and to live under. When guests arrive at a village, whether they have been expected or have arrived unexpectedly, arrangements are immediately made for an Ava Ceremony. The leading orator (tulafale) will notify all available matai (chiefs) that guests have arrived and all are to gather at a place of welcome and to bring an Ava root for the reception. The ava root from which ava (kava) is prepared is the treasured possession of a Samoan Matai (chief). This very possession becomes the material link and bridge uniting us, one to the other, in friendship.

Beauford-Delta Divisional Board Of Education

Pauline Gordon

The Beaufort-Delta Divisional Board of Education is located at Inuvik in Canada's Northwest Territories. Its educational programs include teaching Inuvialuktun and Gwich'in at most schools, teaching and learning centers, aboriginal heritage, and teacher education. Secondary aboriginal language programs were offered at Samuel Hearne Secondary School in Inuvik and in all junior high schools. There is also a language component to the Northern Studies course offering. Preschool programs with an emphasis on Inuvialuktun and Gwich'in language instruction were offered at Tuk, Paulatuk, and Fort McPherson. Inuvialuktun/English bilingual programs were offered in kindergarten in Tuk and Inuvik. Aboriginal heritage programs included Inuvik's Wilderness Training Program, Aklavik's On the Land Program, Tuk's Elders Program, and Paulatuk's Elders Data Project. A teacher education program to train bilingual teachers operates out of Tuk, Inuvik, and Aklavik and was in its second year of operation in 1995.

Hawaiian Language Programs

Kauanoe Kamanā and William H. Wilson

During the first two decades of this century Hawai'i underwent a massive language shift from its indigenous Polynesian language to Pidgin (Hawai'i Creole English) as the primary home language of Native Hawaiians and also large numbers of locally born non-Hawaiians. This shift was the result of English-Only legislation that closed down the Hawaiian medium public schools of Hawai'i. The legislation not only nearly exterminated the Hawaiian language and culture but also had disastrous effects on literacy, academic achievement, and even the use of Standard English among Native Hawaiians. Out of nearly 200,000 Native Hawaiians in Hawai'i, the 1990 census listed only 8,872 speakers of Hawaiian. While there still remains one small island where Hawaiian is the language of the entire community, elsewhere Hawaiian speakers are scattered and often elderly. There is, however, a coordinated community and state government effort to save the Hawaiian language and culture from extinction through reestablishing schools taught in Hawaiian serving those who wish to continue to use or revive the language in their homes.

We were the first of a number of couples in Hawai'i who have revived Hawaiian as the first language of their home and children. Both of us are faculty members in the Hawaiian Studies Department at the University of Hawai'i at Hilo. Kauanoe Kamanā is the president of the 'Aha Pūnana Leo and past director of the Hale Kuamo'o Hawaiian language center at the University of Hawai'i at Hilo. She is currently on leave from the University teaching in the first intermediate and high school Hawaiian medium classes in one hundred years. Bill is on the legislative committee of the State's Hawaiian Immersion Advisory Council.

Pūnana Leo Hawaiian Medium Preschools

In 1983, we were part of a small group of Hawaiian speaking educators who formed the 'Aha Pūnana Leo to reestablish Hawaiian medium education. At that time, the Hawaiian medium public school system of Hawai'i had been closed for nearly 90 years and the last generation in which Hawaiian was the common language of all Hawaiians was in their seventies. The focus of the 'Aha Pūnana Leo was to assist the few families trying to revive Hawaiian in the home and the tiny community that still used Hawaiian at all age levels by beginning family run preschools. Ours was the first family to re-establish Hawaiian as the sole language of the home and we were determined that our children would attend preschool and public school in Hawaiian.

The 'Aha Pūnana Leo (a non-profit organization) now serves approximately 175 children in nine Pūnana Leo preschools in the State and develops materials and teachers for them. Instruction in these full-day eleven month schools is totally through Hawaiian. Parents must 1) pay tuition (based on income), 2) provide eight hours in-kind service per month, 3) attend weekly language lessons, and 4) attend monthly governance meetings. The program has been very successful in its language revitalization, academic, and family-involvement goals and has long waiting lists. The administration of the schools is through Hawaiian and most of the employees are parents of former and current students. The Papahana Kaiapuni Hawai'i (Hawaiian Immersion Public Schools) grew out of the Pūnana Leo, serves Pūnana Leo graduates, and receives financial and other support from 'Aha Pūnana Leo.

Papahana Kaiapuni Hawai'i (Public School Hawaiian Immersion Program)

The Hawai'i public school system, including the first high school west of the Rocky Mountains, was once taught and operated entirely through the Hawaiian language. The Hawaiian language was banned in all private and public schools in 1896 and this ban continued until 1986 when it was rescinded through Pūnana Leo lobbying. In 1987, parents and administrators from the Pūnana Leo preschools persuaded the State Board of Education to open two kindergarten-first grade combined classes to serve Hawaiian speaking children from the Pūnana Leo.

These initial children are now in ninth grade Kaiapuni Hawai'i classes and the program has expanded to include eleven official sites and two unofficial ones. One thousand and one children were served in the Fall of 1995. Most of the children are educated in schools where a Hawaiian medium program shares a campus with an English medium program, but there are two official totally Hawaiian medium schools. Children are educated entirely in Hawaiian until fifth grade where English language arts is introduced as a subject — often taught through Hawaiian. English continues to be taught for one hour a day through high school. Intermediate and high school aged children are also taught a third language. A long range study of the program has shown academic achievement equal to, or above that, of Native Hawaiian children enrolled in the state's typical English medium programs, even in the area of English language arts. Problems include finding and developing teachers and materials and assisting a public school administration that does not know Hawaiian and has institutionalized barriers to enrollment and development of the schools. Strengths are strong interest in revitalizing Hawaiian in the community, strong parent leadership, and cooperative work with the Pūnana Leo preschools, the state Office of Hawaiian Affairs, and the University of Hawai'i system.

Hawaiian Language at the University Level

The Hawaiian language has been taught at the University level since 1921 when all Hawaiian adults and many non-Hawaiian adults were both fluent and literate in the language but young children had shifted to Hawai'i Creole English. In the 1970's a cultural renaissance resulted in more young Hawaiians studying the language in order to compose music and learn their culture from elders. This developed in the eighties and nineties into a language revitalization movement associated with the Punana Leo preschools and Kaiapuni Hawai'i public schools. Hawaiian is offered at the two four-year campuses of the University of Hawai'i and at all state community colleges. It is also offered at most private colleges and universities in Hawai'i as well as at most high schools. Total university enrollments for the fall of 1994 totaled approximately 2,300. In the spring of 1995, students at the Manoa campus lead a system-wide protest against budget cuts to Hawaiian language classes that lead to a promise from the University of Hawai'i president that Hawaiian language would be a protected area of study during this time of state fiscal difficulties.

The University of Hawai'i at Hilo has special responsibility for the Hawaiian language within the University of Hawai'i system. We are not only the largest language offered on campus, we are also the largest major in Humanities with 116 majors on a campus with about 3,000 students. All upper division course work in the Hawaiian Studies Department is taught through the medium of Hawaiian. The University of Hawai'i at Hilo has also been designated to establish the first masters degree in Hawaiian language and literature within the next few years and has also been approved to develop a teacher certification program for teachers planning to teach in those public schools taught through the medium of Hawaiian.

The University of Hawai'i at Hilo is also the site of the State's Hale Kuamo'o Hawaiian language center. The Hale Kuamo'o produces curriculum materials for Hawaiian medium schools including math and science texts. Besides curriculum materials the Hale Kuamo'o produces a newspaper in Hawaiian and two computer services in the language. A lexicon committee is responsible for coining new terms and disseminating them to the public. The State of Hawai'i is a member of the Polynesian Languages Forum through the Hale Kuamo'o. The Forum is a cooperative effort among the different governments within Polynesia focusing on the promotion of their indigenous languages for use in government and private business.

Conclusion

Nineteen ninety-six was officially declared by the governor of Hawai'i the Year of the Hawaiian Language in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the banning of Hawaiian in the schools by those who overthrew the Hawaiian Monarchy. The observation from Hawai'i is that in order for our languages to survive they must be used in all facets of our contemporary life and we must take responsibility for using and developing them. We cannot depend of having elders forever. In this regard, Hawaiian is one of the languages in most danger as most Hawaiian elders today cannot speak Hawaiian. On the other hand, there have never been as many families actively using Hawaiian as the language of the home in the last fifty years. Much of the progress in Hawai'i has been made by insisting that policies and laws reflect the desire of the Hawaiian people that the Hawaiian language be a living language for Hawaiians today.

Lower Kuskokwim Bilingual Programs

Beverly Williams, Kathy Gross, and Duane Magoon[1]

The Lower Kuskokwim School District (LKSD) is Alaska's largest rural school district in number of sites, teachers, and students. The district is comprised of 21 village schools as well as three schools headquartered in the city of Bethel, the largest community in western Alaska. The LKSD covers an area approximately the size of Ohio and is located in western Alaska along the Bering Sea coast and Kuskokwim River. Two-hundred forty teachers serve over 3,000 K-12 students of mostly Yup'ik Eskimo background. One-fourth of the district's certified teachers are Yup'ik, the largest percentage of indigenous teachers in any Alaskan school district.

The district's mission is to promote the indigenous languages of the region as well as to ensure equitable, culturally-appropriate, and effective educational opportunities for all its students, thereby enabling them to succeed in a rapidly changing world. It also seeks to ensure the development of English for both social and academic purposes.

Alaska's schools are fortunate to receive sufficient bilingual funding from the state, in addition to federal funds. The LKSD has received a larger share of state funding for rural districts because of its large number of "language minority" students who are classified as "limited English proficient." Until recently, LKSD bilingual programs were, for the most part, transitional, with their primary goal being English language proficiency. However, last year the State of Alaska agreed to LKSD's request to modify its bilingual education funding formula to a dual-proficiency model allowed under current regulations. This, in effect, puts the "bi-" back into bilingual education, as schools receive funding based upon students' language of least proficiency. One of the district's goals is to produce students fluent in both the first and second languages.

With this funding comes the tremendous obligation to develop and measure student proficiency in both English and Yup'ik. In order to identify each student's initial language proficiency and to document language growth, the LKSD has selected and developed language assessment instruments in both Yup'ik and English. In addition, the district has created English Language Leader and Yup'ik Language Leader positions at each school. These individuals are trained to administer language assessments, assist the district's Bilingual Department in record keeping, help to develop new curricular units (especially in Yup'ik), and work with their colleagues to improve language learning in the "mainstream" classroom.

---

[1] Lower Kuskokwim School District Curriculum-Bilingual Department

The LKSD has a variety of bilingual programs to meet the unique linguistic needs of its various communities. These programs are outlined in a state-approved Bilingual Plan of Service which is revised every three years. Since the majority of LKSD students come to school speaking their indigenous language, many communities have chosen the Yup'ik First Language (YFL) program. Students in this program begin kindergarten with all instruction delivered in the heritage language by a certified first-language teacher. The transition to English increases gradually each year at a rate determined by each school's plan of service. (The full transition to English can occur anywhere from third to sixth grades.)

Unlike these Yup'ik-speaking villages, there are some communities (generally speaking, those closer to Bethel) where English is becoming the language of preference. Several of these villages have chosen to implement a Bilingual/Bicultural program with instructional support given by Yup'ik-speaking instructors who focus on the quick development of English language skills by using the native language only when necessary. Other villages are considering Two-way Immersion programs to counter this trend. Where a village has few children who speak the indigenous language, there is a Yup'ik as a Second Language (YSL) program designed to reintroduce it. These programs have, unfortunately, experienced mixed results.

In an effort to reverse this language loss, the LKSD recently began a Yup'ik Immersion program in Bethel under the state's Language Other than English as a Second Language program option. Thirty-two kindergarten children are enrolled in this program. A Parent Steering Committee oversaw the selection of the Yup'ik instructors and continues to play an integral part in the planning process. As this pilot project proceeds, plans are to add an additional year to the program until the year 2000 when the sixth graders will begin their transition to the English program. Additional Yup'ik staff will be hired and materials developed as this program evolves. Eventually, the district plans to expand the program to several villages that are experiencing the same threat of language loss. With this effort, it is hoped that the Yup'ik language will be revitalized in Bethel and its surrounding communities.

One of the many challenges faced by the LKSD continues to be in increasing the effectiveness of its overall educational program. One way the district is attempting to accomplish this is to re-think its approach to education, particularly the curriculum. Although there have been well- intentioned attempts to bring Yup'ik language and culture into the classroom, much of what we have called "school" in western Alaska has looked and sounded like any school in the Lower 48, particularly at the secondary level. Activities such as "heritage weeks," native dance festivals, language classes, and so forth are not the sum total of Yup'ik culture and identity. It is not even enough to translate Western curricula into Yup'ik; nor is it enough to have Yup'iks teaching Western concepts in Yup'ik using English-language materials. Many Yup'iks are calling for a curriculum which reflects a Yup'ik world view. To that end, a Yup'ik Framework Committee has been established to identify cultural values, beliefs, and essential concepts. Once this culturally-based curriculum framework is identified, subsequent revisions to district curricula will adhere to it. This curriculum will, when finished, reflect a culturally-appropriate world view that meets Alaska "Goals 2000" standards.

Already, there are groups that are getting a head start in developing this "new" curriculum. For example, the village of Kasigluk has begun developing a performance-based Yup'ik Studies Program curricula with identifiable outcomes. Last summer a group of Yup'ik teachers and elders met to develop dozens of Yup'ik-language materials in the content areas of language arts, science, and math. Additional Yup'ik materials developers and graphic artists have been hired to speed the production of high-quality, Yup'ik-language materials. These efforts recognize Yup'ik as a legitimate language of instruction and will help ensure the survival of Yup'ik into the next century.

The progress that has been made over the past several years has not come easily. These efforts are not always easily accepted by those who have been educated under the old Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) system or who take at face value the arguments presented by "English-only" advocates. Some community members, for instance, mistakenly feel they must choose between the desire to have an indigenous curriculum and feelings of loyalty to the Western curriculum they grew up with. Others are suspicious that bilingual education may be yet another way to keep Yup'iks from experiencing academic success. This perception is sometimes reinforced by those teachers and principals who neither view themselves as English as a Second Language (ESL) teachers nor feel bilingualism will benefit Yup'ik children.

In support of bilingual education, the district provides various services to each community. At the invitation of interested school boards and community members, staff from the LKSD's Curriculum-Bilingual Department travel to villages to provide information about current bilingual methods and theories and inform them of the benefits of bilingual programs. With this help, each community determines a three-year Plan of Service appropriate to their unique linguistic and educational needs. Regional and site- based inservices are offered periodically and courses for college credit are provided via the district's distance delivery (satellite) system and telephone audioconferencing. ESL methodology, the writing process, classroom management, cooperative learning, and other appropriate topics provide district teachers and paraprofessionals with professional growth opportunities in bilingual education.

Stabilizing Indigenous Languages

Because many of the district's Yup'ik paraprofessionals are uncertified (serving either as associate teachers who have some post-secondary education or as teacher aides), programs are being developed in association with the University of Alaska to deliver academic credit leading toward a teaching certificate. Classroom experience will count toward a degree as well as summer institute courses and satellite courses.

In partnership with each community, the LKSD plays a significant role in maintaining and developing the Yup'ik language. The district points with great pride to the bilingual education program, the increasing participation of community members, the greater number of Yup'ik certified staff, the rapidly-increasing amount of Yup'ik language materials, and to increased training of all district instructional staff in bilingual methods and theory. Collectively, these help to symbolize the LKSD's commitment to the revitalization, stabilization, and development of the Yup'ik language.

Navajo Immersion Program at Fort Defiance Elementary School

Lettie Nave

The Navajo Immersion program is currently in its eighth year at Fort Defiance Elementary School. The students are 'immersed' in Navajo at school, particularly in the first two years of the program. In kindergarten, Navajo is the language of instruction and of communication. The teachers teach and communicate in Navajo. The students learn Navajo by hearing it and using it in academic and social communication.

Students do reading readiness in Navajo in kindergarten. Students are introduced to English reading readiness and math in first grade. The ESL teacher comes into the classroom for an hour every day. In second and third grades, the students go half-day in one language and half-day in the other. The students begin reading in English in second grade. Students use the reading skills that they have acquired in Navajo reading so that they adapt what they have learned quickly.

In grades four and five students are pulled out of the regular classrooms to attend the Navajo language class. The amount of Navajo is reduced to one hour a day, five days a week for students in fourth grade and four times a week for fifth grade students. Students receive instruction in Navajo reading and writing at this time. The rest of their class day is all in English in the regular classrooms.

The Navajo Immersion program is operated as an enrichment program for those parents who want their children to learn in both languages. Participation is voluntary; students take part only if their parents enroll them in the program. Students are re-enrolled each year.

Background Information

Education Policies passed by the Navajo Tribal Council in 1984 state that:

> The Navajo language is an essential element of the life, culture, and identity of the Navajo people. The Navajo Nation recognizes the importance of preserving and perpetuating that language to the survival of the Nation. Instruction in the Navajo language shall be made available for all grade levels in all schools serving the Navajo Nation. Navajo language instruction shall include to the greatest extent practicable: thinking, speaking, comprehension, reading and writing skills and study of the formal grammar of the language.

The Arizona State Department of Education mandated in 1989 that every school district shall have a "foreign/native" language program.

In the past years Fort Defiance Elementary School has had good bilingual programs providing services for students with limited English proficiency and with relatively well developed Navajo language proficiency. By the mid-80's the majority of the students who were enrolled at the school were dominant in the English language and the school felt that providing services for these students was no longer necessary. The few who were limited in English were given help by the classroom teacher or the English as a second language (ESL) teacher. The school was then left with a decision: drop the bilingual programs or change the programs.

In 1987, students in K-2 were tested on English and Navajo language abilities. The results showed that about two thirds were dominant in English and only a third had any knowledge of Navajo. By looking at the tests results, the school realized that using the transitional approach was no longer appropriate. The program that emerged is what is now called "Navajo Immersion." It is different from conventional programs in a number of ways.

Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community Bilingual Program

Emmett S. White, Kelly Washington, and Beverly Smith

The Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community recognizes its responsibilities through tribal constitutional mandates to preserve its culture, traditions, and language. Their bilingual program was established through allocations of tribal funds in 1992. The Pima and Maricopa languages are being addressed in the development of lesson plans, teaching tools, materials, illustrations, writing, and translating as well as the development of dictionaries. The Pima language is presently taught at Scottsdale Community College.

Stories for Language Revitalization in Náhuatl and Chichimeca

Norbert Francis and Rafael Nieto Andrade

Central Mexico is home to over 20 indigenous languages whose speakers often still occupy their original ancestral communities. The region is also an arena of acute language conflict.

For the elementary school students of San Isidro Buensuceso Tlaxcala and Misión de Chichimecas on the outskirts of San Luis de la Paz in Guanajuato there exists a sharp division regarding the norms of language use that all children internalize early in their academic careers: the contexts of formal classroom language and writing belonging to Spanish, the intimate, oral, face-to-face domains of family, ritual kinship, friendship and community to Náhuatl and Chichimeca.

At first glance the two communities would seem to share few characteristics in common to justify a collaborative research endeavor on language and literacy [for background to this study see Francis (1991, 1994) & Nieto (1991)]. With fewer than 2,000 speakers, the Chichimeca language faces an uncertain future in the short term. Initial estimates calculated that out of the 285 elementary students enrolled 110 have retained productive language capacities, with 33 demonstrating various degrees of "passive bilingualism."

Among the 50% of the "monolingual" Spanish speakers, a significant portion, under the right circumstances, would be able to display some incipient knowledge of the indigenous language, but the direction and rate of language shift is unmistakably evident. On the other hand, the residents of San Isidro, often conscious of their illustrious historical heritage, descendants of a great imperial civilization and speakers of the largest indigenous language group in Mexico (conservatively numbering 1.5 million), tend to project far into the future the cultural and linguistic continuity of their people, at least on the national level.

However, in recent years, indigenous language erosion in the Tlaxcala highlands (Malintzi volcano region) has proceeded at a rate comparable to that of many of the smaller, less ethnolinguistically secure languages of Mexico. San Isidro, together with its immediate neighbor just across the state line, San Miguel Canoa, stands alone as the last Náhuatl community where over 90% of the population has retained the autochthonous language. Nutini and Issacs (1974) estimated that as recently as 1890, in more than 100 communities along the western slope of the Malintzi over 70% of the population was monolingual in Náhuatl. In the same region, the 1990 census (INEGI, 1990) indicates only one (San Isidro) where monolingualism surpasses

10%, and lists less than five towns with a majority that is still bilingual.

Language Choices and Bilingual Education

One of the dilemmas that both bilingual teachers in the field and educational specialists at the Dirección General de Educación Indígena (DGEI) face revolves around the role of reading and writing in the Native languages, notwithstanding the official policy of maintenance bilingual education (DGEI, 1990). Given the strong identification, at the community level, between Spanish and literacy, the ambivalent and contradictory postures regarding the use, in general, of the indigenous languages in school, and the accelerating language displacement and erosion in most communities, what are the practical benefits of teaching and promoting vernacular literacy? Above all, if the objectives of language preservation may not be served by attempting to extend the domains of the indigenous language to include formal academic discourse (particularly writing) as some investigators have suggested (for a discussion see: Pardo, 1993, Cerrón-Palomino and López, 1990, Hornberger, 1988, Zepeda, 1995), a more effective alternative to literacy teaching would be more readily at hand in the Structured Immersion-type, second language reading programs gaining currency in the United States. Náhuatl and Chichimeca language and content, for example, would be more profitably reinforced and transmitted exclusively within the more traditionally circumscribed oral domains, reserving literacy for the language of wider communication.

Without pretending to arrive at a definitive answer regarding the oral/written dilemma, the present joint project has attempted to explore the possibilities, and test the limits so to speak, of reading and writing in the ancestral languages in communities where the forces of language substitution have, for their part, tested the limits of sociolinguistic imbalance and conflict. Perhaps one of our younger informants, second grader Natalia B. expressed most eloquently the tension she personally feels. She denied the possibility that one day Náhuatl would no longer be spoken in town, with Spanish taking its place. Pressed on the issue (If one day it did happen . . .): "Me sentiría avergonzada porque haber cambiado de voz me equivocara de hablar en náhuatl o en castilla" [I would feel ashamed because having changed voices I would make mistakes in Náhuatl and Spanish]. When she grows up to be an adult and has her own children they would learn both: "porque cuando vamos a Puebla tenemos que decir buenas cosas allí y traer algo para comer" [because when we go to Puebla we have to say good things there and bring (home) something to eat].

Parents, today, are generally supportive of the new bilingual teaching staff. Aside from the tangible benefits stemming directly from the implementation of a new program, interviewees pointed to the evident advantages of improved student/teacher communication and school/family relations that stand in stark contrast to the former Spanish-only regime. However, on the question of introducing content (particularly reading and writing) in Náhuatl, the consensus quickly breaks down.

Cultural and Formal Schemata for Creating Texts

Focusing for the moment on our initial findings from a series of renarration activities of traditional stories where the students produced first drafts of their own versions from an oral presentation, a number of general observations set the stage for further analysis of the writing samples:

1. Discourse-level responses:

Especially in regard to the writing samples in the indigenous language, an exceptional facility and productivity was evident on the part of bilingual students resulting in a negligible number of limited response or "non-story" responses (lists, unconnected phrases), with "passive bilinguals" writing in Spanish. Testimony to the schema activating power of traditional narrative structure (Mandler, 1984), providing the subjects with such an organizational framework for accessing memory and reconstructing a coherent discourse evidently minimized the inhibiting factors of novelty of writing in the indigenous language, and the lack of experience in general, in any language, with this particular sort of academic task (planned, sustained production of integral/continuous texts). Perhaps for many of the students the activity indeed represented a kind of violation, of implicit language use norms.

2. Transfer of encoding strategies from Spanish to the indigenous language:

In general, the composing process was characterized by a flexible and seemingly unburdensome application of individual working hypotheses regarding the sound/symbol correspondences of the students' respective languages. For many, if not the majority, of the youngsters the activities represented a genuine experience in an active recreation of the writing system being the first time they had attempted to apply the graphophonic relationships learned in Spanish to the other language that they speak.

3. Code-switching:

Students relied on the extensive utilization of translinguistic resources to compensate for gaps in lexical availability and knowledge of morphological and syntactic structures, as well as, in some cases, as a discourse devise. The broad variation in code-switching and borrowing in the context of a more deliberate and planned expressive language activity (that of writing) offers a rich opportunity to examine these processes, and students' perceptions of and reflections upon language use (e.g. the permissibility and limits of "language mixing", often denigrated as *cuatrerito* speech, *medio náhuatl-medio español*, and so forth.)

Transfers from Spanish to Náhuatl, Oral to Written

Six years ago the parents of Xicohténcatl Elementary School received with decided apprehension the assignment of the twelve young Náhuatl speaking bilingual teachers who arrived with the commission of implementing the new language policy in the state's "most indigenous" town (incidentally, as well, the locality with the highest illiteracy rate, the only one to officially surpass the 50% mark in 1990). Under sustained pressure from many quarters to maintain the traditional Castellanization practices of exclusive Spanish instruction, combined with virtually no formal preparation regarding the formidable practical challenges of teaching reading, writing and mathematics in Náhuatl, the staff has tried to resist the forces of linguistic assimilation. Today, the national anthem is sung in Náhuatl *and* Spanish, students speak Náhuatl freely in the patio and in the classroom, even, on occasion, with their teacher (although such a marked display would indeed be rare), some bilingual materials are available, and teachers offer isolated capsules of content in Náhuatl (the alphabet, vocabulary items, participation in the occasional regional contests sponsored by the DGEI in poetry, narrative and renditions of the state and national anthems in Náhuatl). What we could characterize as a "symbolic valorization" of the indigenous language corresponds to a kind of "de facto maintenance" program (being its incidental and de facto nature the essential characteristic). Initial literacy is still laboriously introduced exclusively in Spanish as is virtually all academic content through sixth grade.

Our survey of oral proficiency in both languages (results of the *Entrevista Bilingüe* administered to a sample of 60 1st, 2nd, 4th and 6th graders, followed up by observation of language preference of the same students in informal settings) suggests that the atmosphere of "active tolerance" at the Escuela Xicohténcatl offers the young bilinguals an important sociolinguistic space (among many in town) in which the development of their language skills in Náhuatl actually thrives, despite the absence of any formal teaching program in vernacular literacy. Casual observation during recess, in the library, etc., confirmed our informants' assertions that among young people there is significant social pressure to be fluent in the indigenous language (notwithstanding the wide range of negative and ambivalent perceptions associated with being bilingual, especially when visiting Puebla or the larger more centrally located towns).

It is within this context that our evaluations of reading and writing in Náhuatl and Spanish shed some light on the transfer processes that the students' performance actually revealed. The general trends from three sets of evaluations seen in the graphs in Table 1 appear to be representative of development of each language in regard to school related tasks:

1) Graph #1— A combined Reading Miscue Inventory/CLOZE assessment utilizing texts of appropriate difficulty for grades 2, 4 and 6 in each language.

2) Graph #2— Based on series of illustrations that "tell a story", an evaluation of oral narrative measuring global coherence and "text-like qualities" that go beyond the purely descriptive level.

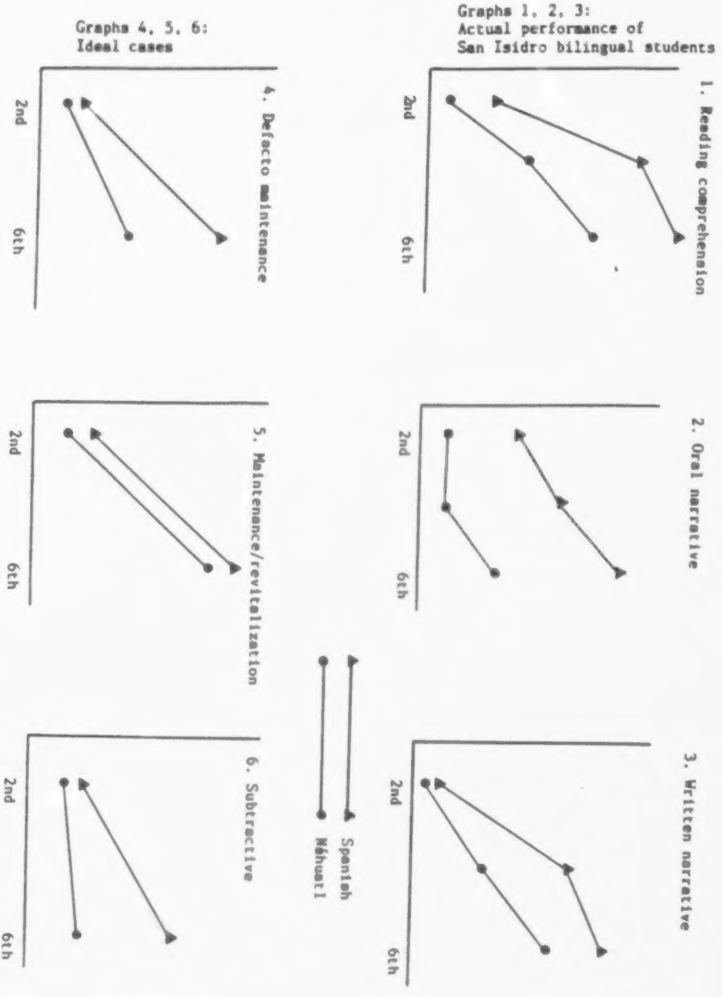
3) Graph #3— Scoring of writing samples for similar story features.

As expected, from 2nd to 4th to 6th grade literacy/literary skills marked significant developmental increments in the language of instruction (Spanish). The general upward trend in oral story telling, reading and writing in Náhuatl verifying two processes at work: 1) a broad tendency that reflects the maintenance and consolidation of Náhuatl among the "early native speakers," and the full acquisition and analogous consolidation of the language on the part of a significant minority of kindergarten and first grade Spanish dominant "passive bilinguals," 2) the consequent access to textual and discourse competencies associated with a common underlying proficiency (Cummins, 1989).

Clearly, the course of the Náhuatl scores could have traced a less positive inclination. Observations of the testing sessions confirmed that the new academic tasks that the students were asked to engage in (indeed a contrived and manipulated context) would be more challenging than writing in Spanish, evoking varied expressions of mild frustration, consternation, and surprise. As an informal test of the limits of transfer of cognitive/academic language skills we could tentatively point to its broad universal applicability. Even under assuredly unfavorable conditions of language conflict, marginalization, and displacement of the vernacular underlying competencies are still available to the young bilinguals in both languages.

However, the visual impression that emerges in every case (see Table 1 graphs #1, #2 and #3), the Spanish curves showing a more dynamic tendency, with Náhuatl seeming to progressively lag behind and lose ground from 2nd to 6th grade, can be attributed to the consequences of the "de facto maintenance" circumstance (Graph #4). The "scissors" open as a result of the noticeably less precipitous ascent of the (again in all cases) lower curves. Transfer is neither automatic nor assured, with the long term trend pointing toward an eventual erosion of literacy skills in Náhuatl.

Table 1: Graphs of student language learning in Spanish and Náhuatl



Speculatively, we could predict that a systematic "heritage language" type program aimed at maintenance and revitalization would ideally allow for a more balanced and additive development (Graph #5). Extending our hypothetical typology we would probably find that the scissors open wider with a declining slope for the Náhuatl curve in schools where "active tolerance" and "de facto maintenance" give way to reluctant acquiescence regarding the use of the indigenous language. Here our point of reference is the situation in the public schools just across the state line in San Miguel where the relationship of forces would preclude any sort of repression of the language (in fact our informants insisted that "on the other side" children were never punished for speaking *mexicano*). However, almost all teachers are monolingual Spanish speakers, with Spanish completely monopolizing all official school language functions. Hypothetically, students from San Miguel, although they belong to the same speech community as the sample from Xicohténcatl School, would not perform as well on similar measures of reading, writing and story telling in Náhuatl.

The extreme range of the continuum clearly begins to approach the outright subtractive variant (Graph #6) reported to us by our informants who are natives of the formerly Náhuatl speaking towns along the Puebla/Tlaxcala highway. On a final note concerning the series of ideal cases, it would seem, at least in theory, that the most propitious circumstance for the development of high level *Spanish* literacy skills would correspond to model #5, and the least advantageous to the "linguistic cleansing" variant of #6.

Misión de Chichimecas

The early stages of the research in San Luis de la Paz have pointed to promising new directions for educators working in projects whose objective consists of reversing language death. Originating from an initiative on the part of the local school personnel, all of whom are monolingual Spanish speakers themselves, the introduction of traditional Chichimeca narratives was viewed initially as a means of boosting students' self esteem. The young *mecos'* language, a distant member of the Otomi-Pame family (Soustelle, 1937, Manrique, 1988), is variously portrayed as barking, yelping, or some other non-human communication system by their more "Hispanic" peers.

Even among the more self-assertive bilingual youngsters, their command of Chichimeca is often partial. From their point of view only a minority "speak well," reinforcing the notion that somehow the language is not "complete," a kind of underdeveloped code, unfit for the more elevated functions, such as writing. Fewer and fewer adults appear to be proficient speakers, and the high frequency of code-switching and borrowed items from Spanish only confirms, for many, the precarious future of the language.

Stabilizing Indigenous Languages

In the Náhuatl speaking region of Tlaxcala bilingual teachers allude to a series of objective obstacles to teaching in the indigenous language: historical dispersion and isolation of the communities has exacerbated dialectical variation, creating communication gaps even from one town to the next, and the lack of standardization makes it impractical to use the Náhuatl primer that is based on a supradialectical "agglutinated" edition. Openly and honestly many refer to their own hesitations and insecurities in regard to good pronunciation, reading fluency, spelling norms, correct grammar, and so forth. In this respect, the unique contribution of the Chichimeca project consists of addressing the problem of teacher language competence and linguistic variation in the most direct manner (from the perspective of the least favorable combination of "objective factors"; no availability of printed material, monolingual Spanish-speaking faculty).

Since the beginning of last school year high quality anthologies of tape recorded versions of stories narrated in Chichimeca by the older more fluent students are available to teachers in the preschool, elementary and middle school levels. In addition, a more complete written edition is being prepared with the generous financial support of the Culture and Education Commission of the State of Guanajuato. Teachers have availed themselves of the material as templates for writing and for evoking and projecting representations for ethnic content in the graphic and plastic arts. For the DGEI specialists who responded to the teachers' petitions for technical advice and consultation, the project has generated an unprecedented corpus of children's writing in Chichimeca previously unrecorded in any natural communicative/expressive context related to school.

Concluding Remarks

On the methodological level while our general approach was dictated by integrative/holistic considerations, including global and qualitative criteria for evaluating the language samples, any purely "naturalistic" compilation of observed behaviors certainly would have yielded rather poor and unrepresentative samples of the bilingual youngsters' underlying competencies. A more "experimental" condition where a deliberate attempt is made to provoke a particular type of response revealing language knowledge structures belonging to a certain domain (Wesche, 1992) allowed us to examine and record proficiencies that normally one would never observe in the classroom.

To the extent that artistic and formal discourses cut across the oral/written distinction (Tannen, 1987, Horowitz, 1990, Widdowson, 1984) our interest in examining children's writing in their indigenous language would seem justified. The poetic, ceremonial, pedagogic and narrative genres of "oral tradition" communities are certainly more "text-like", amenable to *fixing* in new, "less traditional," ways. In fact, impressionistic comparisons from our children's writing samples suggest that the "typical" advantages of the written modality (the opportunity to plan, reflect and revise, more processing time, and so forth) were exploited rather successfully by the students in San Isidro and San Luis. The facilitating factor of "priming" story schemata, by providing a template for renarration, maximized production without sacrificing variation (narrower in regard to thematic content, but highly variable in terms of the key criteria of story structure). And as experienced educators can attest to, the kinds of procedures that yield favorable results in terms of content validity in an assessment situation should prosper in the teaching domain as well.

In his discussion of the concept of "narrativity" as a key interpretative framework for language learning, Danesi (1991) points out that "children develop conceptual schemes primarily through story formats"; (quoting Gordon Wells, 1986) "constructing stories in the mind is one of the most fundamental means of making meaning; as such it is an activity that pervades all aspects of learning." Danesi argues that:

> Narrative structure reflects the actual structure of human cognition. . . . Stories provide the intelligible formats that mobilize the child's natural ability to learn from how we understand ourselves and the social world in which we live . . . . [giving] pattern and continuity to human perception and experience. The processing of narrative information in more than one culturally specific code can thus be seen to expand the children's repertory of symbolic options and, manipulate symbols — the tools of intellect. (1991, p. 654)

If the "narrativization of experience" (Gee, 1989) represents a kind of bridge between the basic universal face-to-face communicative language skills and the first texts that children begin to create and understand, then stories, of all genres and varieties, must form the core of any literacy program. Speech communities that have been able to maintain a level of continuity with cultural practices associated with the traditional narrative can press this resource into service to the benefit of both language preservation and literacy development in general.

References

Cummins, J. (1989). Language and literacy acquisition in bilingual contexts. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 10*(1), 17-29.

Cerrón-Palomino, R. and López, L.E. (1990). La escritura en lenguas indígenas y la experiencia de Oaxaca. *América Indígena, 50*(2-3), 265-290.

Danesi, M. (1991). Revisiting the research findings on heritage language learning: Three interpretative frames. *The Canadian Modern Language Review, 47*(4), 650-659.

Dirección General de Educación Indígena. (1990). *Fundamentos para la modernización de la educación indígena.* Mexico City: Secretaría de Educación Pública.

Francis, N. (1991). Educación bilingüe: La tradición oral en la adquisición de la lectoescritura. *Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios Educativos, 21*(3), 49-84.

Francis, N. (1994). *Oralidad, escritura y la educación bilingüe: La adquisición de la lectoescritura en la escuela primaria indígena.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Gee, J. P. (1989). Literacy, discourse and linguistics. *Journal of Education, 171*(1), 75-96.

Hornberger, N. (1987). *Bilingual education and language maintenance: A Southern Peruvian Quechua case.* Dordrecht: Foris.

Horowitz, R. (1990). Discourse organization in oral and written language: Critical contrasts for literacy and schooling. In J. de Jong & D. Stevenson (Eds.), *Individualizing the assessment of language abilities.* Avon: Multilingual Matters.

Instituto Nacional de Estadística Geografía e Información. (1990). *XI Censo General de Población y Vivienda (Tlaxacala).* Mexico City: Author.

Mandler, J. M. (1984). *Stories, scripts and scenes: Aspects of schema theory.* Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Manrique Castañeda, L. (1988). *Atlas cultural de México: Lingüística.* Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.

Nieto Andrade, R. (1991). La nueva orientación de los materiales didácticos, paper presented at the *Primer Encuentro Nacional de Educación Indígena*, Cuernavaca, Mexico, June 14, 1991.

Nutini H., & Isaac B. (1974). Los *pueblos de habla náhuatl de la región de Tlaxcala y Puebla.* Mexico City: Instituto Nacional Indigenista.

Pardo, M. T. (1993). El desarrollo de la escritura de la lenguas indígenas de Oaxaca. *Revista Iztapalapa, 29*, 109-134

Soustelle, J. (1937). *La Famille Otomi-Pame du Mexique Central*. Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie.

Tannen, D. (1987). The orality of literature and the literacy of conversation. In Judith Langer, (Ed.) *Language, literacy and culture: Issues of society and schooling*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Wells, G. (1986). *The meaning makers: Children learning language and using language to learn*. Portsmouth, NH: Heineman.

Wesche, M. B. (1992). Les enjeux de l'evaluation: Vers quoi s'oriente-t-on? *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, *48*(2), 250-273.

Widdowson, H.G. (1984). Reading and communication. In Charles Alderson, (Ed.). *Reading in a foreign language*. London: Longman.

Zepeda, O. (1995. The continuum of literacy in American Indian communities. *The Bilingual Research Journal*, *19*(1), 5-15.

The Tarahumara of Mexico

Carla Paciotto

> The destruction of languages is an abstraction which is concretely mirrored in the concomitant destruction of intimacy, family and community, via national and international involvements and intrusions, the destruction of local life by mass-market hype and fad, of the weak by the strong, of the unique and traditional by the uniformizing, purportedly "stylish" and purposely ephemeral.
>
> — Joshua Fishman, *Reversing Language Shift*, 1991, p. 4.

Around the world today, the languages and cultures of numerous minority and indigenous populations are threatened with total assimilation by dominant cultures. The Tarahumara of Mexico are certainly no exception. As a result of accelerated and unequal rates of social change and growth in socio-economic and technological power, indigenous groups in Mexico have been further marginalized, forcing them to retreat to the farthest reaches for geographical isolation. The geographical buffer, however, has slowly dwindled, causing an increase in alienation and despair and the disintegration of indigenous communities.

At the same time, the last century has seen a number of persistent, traditional, and creative modes of language maintenance policies employed with success by indigenous communities on all continents. While the survival of a language is often connected to intergenerational continuity, the experience of such successful community actions has demonstrated that the survival of an indigenous community itself greatly depends on the function and value of its language. Viable models must now demonstrate the ability of small cultures and communities to thrive and evolve within their own experience.

Within the global village today, the challenge remains for indigenous communities to employ, modify and build upon the widely-acclaimed benefits and successes of language maintenance programs of other indigenous groups, seeking to not only slow the virtual demise of a culture, but foster viable ways for their contributions to greater world understanding and development. Reversing language shift, as Fishman has noted, remains as the critical option for the re-establishment of "local options, local control, local hope and local meaning to life" (1991, p. 35).

The Tarahumara

The Tarahumara, or *Raramuri*, as they call themselves, reside in the Sierra Tarahumara in the northern state of Chihuahua, Mexico. Linguistically belonging to the Uto- Aztecan family, they originally occupied more than 28,000 square miles of mountainous terrain, an area larger than the state of West Virginia.

Since the first European contact, their land has slowly been reduced and now is estimated to be half of the original size. According to the latest census of 1981 (Diagnostico, 1984), the total population of the Sierra Tarahumara is 311,114, of which fifty to sixty-five thousand are Tarahumara.

The Tarahumara are considered one of the few indigenous groups in North America that have been able to preserve their traditional style of life almost unmodified by three and a half centuries of contact with European and mestizo populations. According to De Velasco,

> Raramuri probably are the only numerically important tribe (between 50 to 60,000) that has succeeded in maintaining their culture practically uncontaminated, in spite of more than three centuries of contact with white people and their pressure . . . Raramuri have preserved their language, their original dresses, their handcrafts, and their traditional music. (1987, p. 29)

Contact Between Tarahumara and Mestizos

Since the beginning of the European contact in the seventeenth century, with the arrival of Jesuit missionaries, the Tarahumara people have witnessed and opposed the settlement in their land by European and mestizo populations. With the withdrawal of Jesuit missionaries in 1767, the encroachment of mestizos in Sierra Tarahumara was restricted mainly to mining companies and laborers. It was at the beginning of this century that the interest in the Tarahumara population and territory was awakened by the return of the Jesuits in the Sierra and by the renewed exploitation of its resources by mestizos.

Over the last century the penetration of the Hispanic population has doubled. Between 1920 and 1960 the Hispanic population rose from 100,000 to 190,000 (Merrill, 1983), greatly outnumbering the indigenous population. After the decline of the mining activity, mestizos remained as farmers or found jobs in the timber industry. The lumber interest, along with the recent expansion of road construction, the development of the tourism industry, and the exploitation of hidden and fertile lands for drug cultivation have largely accounted for the increase of non-Tarahumara inhabitants in the Sierras.

As a consequence of this steady and pressing intrusion of non-Indians in their original territory, Tarahumara have been obliged to leave their fertile and more accessible lands and retreat toward the more mountainous area in the western part of the Sierras. In the process, the scarcity of cultivable lands has necessitated the modification of a significant part of their economy. The Tarahumara have borrowed some agricultural practices from mestizos by introducing cattle and sheep herding (De Velasco, 1987). More recently, with the expansion of labor and land policies, including the tenant-farming *ejido* system, the Tarahumara have been forced to participate in the larger Mexican economic and political structure. According to De Velasco, "to participate in the life of the *ejido*, the Tarahumara tend to subordinate to the calendar of white people, to their work time table, etc., and their freedom . . . tends to be subjected to the interest of white people and machine and paper producers" (1987, p. 31).

However, in spite of the enforced contact with the mestizo society and the embrace of part of the modern economic structure, the Tarahumara people have managed to remain economically self-sufficient and independent on a small scale (De Velasco, 1987) This economic autonomy from the mestizos has probably been one of the keys to the lack of assimilation of the Tarahumara to greater mestizo social values and practices.

The relative lack of contact with the Hispanic world has also been the result of the inaccessibility of part of Tarahumara land, the partial isolation of their communities, and the dispersed configuration of their settlements. Until recently, the Tarahumara have been successful in adapting the technology of the modern Mexican society to their needs without making devastating compromises in terms of wider cultural adaptation. However, the economic development and exploitation of the Sierras by non-Tarahumara is weakening the self-defense and preservation mechanisms of the Tarahumara communities. According to De Velasco, "the old mechanisms that did not achieve a complete liberation now are starting to be insufficient even to maintain the resistance" (1987, p. 24).

In the last decade, the Tarahumara have been increasingly threatened by enormous pressures to assimilate and to succumb to mainstream Mexican society from several directions. Timber companies are ruthlessly exploiting and depleting Tarahumara forests; the *narcotraficantes* have seized the most fertile and hidden plots of land, forcing unprotected and vulnerable Tarahumara to participate in the cultivation of drugs; new roads are being laid, allowing for easier penetration of the more isolated Sierra Tarahumara areas; and, national and international tourism, prompted and exploited by the Mexican populace, is dramatically rising and encroaching in previously isolated regions. More than ever, the intensification of such economic enterprises, especially in the timber, drug and tourist industries in the Sierra Tarahumara, threaten the survival of the Tarahumara culture and existence.

Many Tarahumara are now seeking low-paying job opportunities in the regional cities, due to the inadequacy of their reduced plots and pastures. The intense incursion is showing some elements of disintegration of the Tarahumara culture. Velasco (1987) notes the increasing debasement of the value of *las fiestas*, the rituals that he depicts as the main socially and culturally unifying force in Tarahumara society. Losing the greater religious or mystical and traditional tone, he terms an erosion or "folklorization" of the role and value of some of the most important ceremonies of Tarahumara. On a material level, the Tarahumara who live closer to mestizos settlements tend to leave behind the traditional dresses, adopting the cheaper and more fashionable clothes of the modern Mexican society.

Toward Language Loss

As a consequence of the increased contact with mestizos, the *Diagnostico de Necessidades y Propuesta Curricular* (1984), compiled by the governmental organization *Coordinacion Estatal de la Tarahumara*, documented a gradual decline of the Tarahumara language in Tarahumara communities as part of a larger study on Tarahumara educational needs. Though failing to report variables affecting language use, the assessment did suggest that the intense pressure toward contact with mestizos resulted in a trend toward lesser use of the native Tarahumara language.

The *Diagnostico* (1984) presented a diversified use and decline of the Tarahumara language in the Sierras. Overall, the report found that many communities presented a diglossic situation with varying levels of bilingualism among the speakers. This probably is the most frequent case encountered either in communities or in schools. In some instances, the report found that the native language was spoken only by the older generation in several Tarahumara communities, where fathers and mothers had interrupted the intergenerational transmission of Tarahumara language to their children. In other communities, the report recorded the opposite situation, where entire communities remained totally monolingual. The *Diagnostico* (1984) also concluded that when children succeeded in completing primary school, they were likely to terminate the use of Tarahumara and, eventually, lose their native language.

Bilingual/Bicultural Programs for Indigenous Populations

In order to prevent further decline of the native language and culture, the Chihuahua State educational department (*Secreteria de Educacion Publica*) together with the *Instituto Nacional Indigenista* have been working, developing and implementing a bilingual/bicultural program aimed at the education of the indigenous children in the Sierra Tarahumara. The goal of the program is to modify the national curriculum on the basis of the cultural and linguistic characteristics of the Tarahumara.

The program is the result of a wider federal educational policy that, since 1970s, has declared the official policy for indigenous populations to be Bilingual/Bicultural Education (BBE) (Modiano, 1988). Coronado states that the federal government has recognized "[indigenous] languages and cultures as legitimate and important constituents of the national cultural patrimony, and today recognizes the necessity of starting from the linguistic and cultural traits of each group as a fundamental basis of the educational process" (1992, p.59).

An official report, *Fundamentos para la Modernizacion de la Educacion Indigena*, compiled in 1990 and published by SEP (*Secretaria de Educacion Publica*), provides the general goals of the BBE. As Hidalgo paraphrases them, in the report:

> 1. It is proposed that by the end of six years children will be fluent in all four skills in two languages: they will be able to understand, speak, read and write in both Spanish and their mother tongue. By doing so the indigenous languages of Mexico will be rescued, preserved and developed.
> 2. It is also proposed that a writing system for the Indian languages should be promoted in order to link the languages with modernization.
> 3. Indian languages should be used as both a subject and a medium of instruction, because the old practices of alphabetization proved to be decontextualized. (1994, p.200)

However, during the 1970s and part of the 1980s the implemented programs were strongly criticized as an unsuccessful attempt at creating bilingual programs, mainly because of the impossibility of relating the BBE curriculum designed by the central government to all the indigenous groups of Mexico.

Since the 1980s the Mexican educational system has been slowly changing its structure, shifting from a highly centralized system to a middle stage called *'desconcentracion'*, and then to greater decentralization as an attempt to provide state educational departments with more control over their local schools. This trend, according to administrators and educators in the area of indigenous education, is a hopeful and positive movement for genuine reform of the regional educational system.

The reformed Article 13 of the *Ley General de Educacion General* of 1993 declared that the local educational authorities must:

1. Provide the initial, basic — including indigenous — and special educational services, as well as the teacher training.
2. Provide the Secretaria with the regional contents that will be included in the study plans and programs for primary and secondary schools, and for the teacher training in primary and secondary education. (p.11)

The *Acuerdo Nacional para la Modernizacion de la Educacion Basica* of 1992, in Article 13 stated that, "it will be the responsibility of the State Government to propose to the Secretariat of Public Education the design of the regional contents and its adequate inclusion in the general curriculum" (1992, p. 26).

These reformed laws have allowed the individual states to carry out what Prawda (1984) refers to as the *microplaneacion regional educativa*, the possibility of establishing projects aimed first at the needs assessment of each local and indigenous group, and then at the subsequent creation and development of specific programs culturally relevant to the students and, at the same time, in line with the general educational directives of the federal government.

In light of this reform, the *Coordinacion Estatal de la Tarahumara* developed and set in motion a bilingual/bicultural program for indigenous populations of the Sierra Tarahumara, which is now in its fourth year of implementation. During these last years both the State and the *Instituto Nacional Indigenista* have made efforts to overcome the difficulties linked to the implementation of the BBE in the Sierra Tarahumara. Relevant cultural contents have been included in the curriculum, and the Tarahumara language is employed throughout the pre-school year and the first three grades. Since Tarahumara language consists of five dialects, it has been necessary to create a standardized form of the native language. This has also allowed for the development of standardized materials in Tarahumara. A basic vocabulary containing the different varieties has been compiled. Teacher training courses have been provided for indigenous teachers and non-Tarahumara teachers working in the school systems in indigenous communities.

In order to reverse the low prestige of the use of the Tarahumara language in class, as well as the stigma attached to bilingual teachers (*Diagnostico*, 1984), indigenous bilingual teachers now receive a higher salary than the monolingual Spanish teachers. The State policy has also allowed for the creation of day schools with a minimum of eight students. This has facilitated the access to school for children living in remote and inaccessible areas, circumventing the use of boarding schools which often work as an uprooting agent of the indigenous students from their family and culture.

The enthusiasm of the administrators and teacher trainers about this new program is high and full of hope. Many indigenous parents now feel more comfortable with a more culturally relevant curriculum for their children and can relate to indigenous teachers more easily. However, the program is still in its initial phase and an evaluation of its outcomes would be premature. Many problems linked to its implementation have not been overcome yet. The number of bilingual teachers is still too limited to cover the actual need. The implementation of the program usually depends on the total absence of mestizo children in the class. The program has only been extended through the first four grades of primary school. Not all the indigenous children attend public schools, and therefore have a chance to employ their language in the educational process.

In general, it is uncertain to what extent the bilingual/bicultural program is being implemented by individual teachers. A study of teachers' attitudes and practices in the classroom would be necessary to define the impact of the program on the education of the Tarahumara student, and to what extent this program functions beyond previous efforts to accomplish an easier transition to the majority language.

Conclusion

Efforts toward the development and implementation of genuine bilingual/bicultural programs for the Tarahumara are undoubtedly essential for the maintenance of their language and culture, especially in context of the reality that the Tarahumara must now confront intense encroachment by the majority society. However, as Fishman states,

> the over-reliance on the school with respect to the attainment of Reversing Language Shift goals is merely an example of the more widespread tendency to seek out and depend upon one-factor solutions to a very involved, multivariate problem. . . . Mother tongue transmission requires mother tongue use for the purposes of intergenerational intimacy and mutual socialization. (1991, p. 366)

The challenge for the Tarahumara communities today is to maintain and strengthen the role of the Tarahumara language in daily family and social life, as well as developing sustainable ways of economic and social self-sufficiency and independence from the outside society. As De Velasco noted with the role of the fiestas, "the preservation of the Raramuri identity — as it is linked to the sharing of fundamental values . . . and the sharing traditions and expressions . . . depends essentially on the fiestas," (1987, p.316) the larger issue confronting the Tarahumara is the preservation of a viable framework for their social values and traditions into the 21st century.

References

Acuerdo nacional para la modernizacion de la educacion basica. (1992). Mexico City: Secretaría de Educación Pública.

Coronado, S.G. (1993). Educacion bilingue en Mexico: Propositos y realidad. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 96*, 53-70.

Coordinacion Estatal de la Tarahumara. (1984). *Programa de reforma a la educacion indigena tarahumara. Diagnostico de necessidades y propuesta curricular.*

Chihuahua: Oficina de Estudios Especiales.

De Velasco, P. (1987). *Danzar o morir. Religion y resistencia a la dominacion en la cultura tarahumara.* Coyocan, Mexico: Ediciones CRT.

Fishman, J. A. (1991). *Reversing language shift.* Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Hidalgo, M. (1994). Bilingual education, nationalism and ethnicity in Mexico: from theory to practice. *Language Problems and Language Planning, 18 (3)*, 185-207.

Kennedy, G. J (1978). *Tarahumara of Sierra Madre: Beer, ecology, and social organization.* Arlington Heights: AHM.

Merrill, W. L (1983). Tarahumara social organization, political organization, and religion. In W. C. Sturtevant (Ed.), *The handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 10.* Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

Modiano, N. (1988). Public bilingual education in Mexico. In Cristina Bratt Paulston (ed.), *International handbook of bilingualism and bilingual education.* New York: Greenwood.

Pennington, C. W. (1983). Tarahumara. In W. C. Sturtevant (Ed.), *The handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 10.* Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

Poder Ejecutivo Federal. (1993). *Ley General de Educacion.* Mexico City: Author.

Prawda, J. (1984). *Teoria y praxis de la planeacion educativa en Mexico.* Miguel Hidalgo, Mexico: Editorial Grijalbo.

Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educacion. (1994). *Primero Congreso Nacional de Educacion: Documentos de trabajo para su discusion. El reto de la pluralidad cultural y etnica a la educacion publica, laica, nacional y democratica de calidad.* Mexico: Author.

Tuba City

Gary D. McLean and Jon Reyhner

Tuba City, Arizona, is located in the heart of Indian country on the western part of the Navajo Nation adjacent to the Hopi tribal lands. Nevertheless, only some fifteen percent of the Navajo children who enter kindergarten each year at Tuba City comprehend and speak their ancestral language. The situation is far more precarious for the Hopi language. The challenges faced by residents of Tuba City to preserve the Navajo and Hopi languages mirror those faced by many American Indian communities throughout the U.S. and other indigenous peoples around the world.

In September, 1993, workshops were held across the Navajo Reservation aimed at the maintenance of the Navajo language. Joshua Fishman served as the key facilitator. He cited findings from a study he is currently finishing up that compares successful and unsuccessful actions of threatened speech communities, involving seventy-five endangered languages. During presentations and informal discussions, Fishman continually returned to a key point—when over-relied upon, or relied upon exclusively, schools fail to save languages.

Examples reinforced this message. Innovative schools have been founded to save languages. Some have been well funded, employed dedicated teachers, used excellent materials, and focused an enormous amount of time on the endangered language. Nevertheless, despite all the expertise, funding, and hard work, most children failed to learn their endangered language. Why? Fishman noted that schools are generally successful in preparing students for a reality outside of school, but not very good at teaching what is beyond the out-of-school reality for children, regardless of whether the subject is an endangered language, social studies, or algebra.

Efforts to save languages must ultimately deal with the intergenerational transmission of mother-tongues. This is, to a large extent, a family and community issue. Exclusive focus on education compounds, rather than solves, the problem of language shift. Groups who are succeeding in saving their language (the Basque of Spain, for example) find ways to revitalize and stabilize their speech community. In these cases, schools play a role, but the community is the primary focus of action.

Redirecting Efforts

Several courses of action would greatly assist American Indian communities in developing the effective right to maintain their languages. Such actions include: 1) fostering of new, innovative, community-based approaches to strengthen and stabilize threatened languages; 2) directing more research efforts toward analyzing community-based successes in resisting loss of Native American languages and other minority languages as well; 3) fostering communication and partnerships between communities and organizations trying new approaches to maintaining languages; and 4) promotion of heightened consciousness of the catastrophic effects of language loss both among members of language minority populations and among members of the mainstream population. Unfortunately, the human and financial resources needed to stabilize or restore American Indian languages extend beyond the resources of nearly all Indian communities.

Turning Point in Tuba City

The people of Tuba City, like those in many other Indian communities, are at a critical juncture. The children of Tuba City could come of age in a community steeped in the joys of Navajo and Hopi life as well as enjoy the benefits of participation in the larger society — particularly higher income and higher education. However, such achievements will not come easily.

A vicious cycle persists that is very difficult to break. Lack of community infrastructure and many social problems contribute to language shift; language shift fosters dysfunctional behavior, and so it goes. So much damage has been inflicted on the local cultures that many people seem rather fatalistic about language loss, not to mention failing to solve the many social problems associated with the accompanying cultural unraveling.

Reasons for optimism, however, are clearly evident. Increased awareness of key issues and alternatives concerning the role of Navajo language in the future is occurring in families, the schools, and various organizations. Indians and non-Indians are collaborating rather effectively in addressing language-related issues. Intelligent youth, many destined to be leaders of tomorrow, demonstrate renewed interest in joining with their elders in preserving their most valuable birthright—their language, culture, and land. A special resiliency as well as a vision for a brighter future clearly exist in Tuba City.

Can sufficient action be taken quickly enough to stabilize local languages and, hence, the cultures? This is the fundamental question in Tuba City today because opportunities to stabilize local languages may be gone in a very short period of time — perhaps in five years. Elements of the community are aware of the situation and have held monthly symposia and other activities to address the problem of language loss. The response of Tuba City Public Schools to the threat to the Navajo language is described below.

Tuba City Public Schools Response to Language Loss

Tuba City Public Schools in Arizona instituted a Title VII funded two-way Navajo-English bilingual program in 1992. The program is a response to a 1984 mandate by the Navajo Tribe that all schools within the Navajo Nation teach Navajo and to a 1989 mandate by the Arizona State Board of Education that all students be able to speak and understand English plus a second language by the completion of eighth grade.

Arizona's 21 semester credit requirement for a bilingual teaching endorsement has also aided the establishment of Tuba City's program. The endorsement requires bilingual teachers to have courses in linguistics, bilingual methods (using the children's first language, in this case Navajo), community involvement, and the foundations of bilingual education. In response, Arizona universities are now offering the courses needed so that Tuba City and other school districts can staff their programs.

Tuba City's two-way program started for first grade students in 1992-93 and includes one half day immersed in a Navajo Language classroom and one half day immersed in an English language classroom. In 1993-94 both first and second graders had 1/2 day of Navajo instruction and 1/2 day of English instruction, while third grade students in 1994-95 had a mixture of 1/5 Navajo and 4/5 English. Emphasis is on language development with whole language activities, including thematic units, that integrate listening, speaking, reading, and writing in both languages.

First grade thematic units include family, food, clothing, seasons, animals, plants, and so forth. The program employs a variety of strategies, including students writing booklets, language immersion activities, and informal language use. Preliminary results show that student English writing skills are better than when they were taught in English all day. The enriched curriculum of Tuba City's Two-Way Bilingual Program costs about the same as the old monolingual curriculum. Additional in-service teacher training in various aspects of bilingual education is the only extra cost as the overall pupil-teacher ratio remains the same.

That is not to say that past supplemental Title VII funding was wasted. Today's Two-Way Program at Tuba City is an out-growth of an older bilingual program based on a transitional model. Planning started in 1977 for a Title VII supported program that would allow students to learn academic concepts and reading in Navajo and then to apply this knowledge as they learned English.

The curriculum planners believe that bilingual instruction will build bridges between home and school, will maintain positive attitudes towards family, and will set the stage for learning English better. In addition, over the years, the district has established a model cultural center and a model bilingual center. The culture center has exhibits and an extensive library of American Indian, Navajo, and Hopi books.

The training and experience of past Title VII projects helped lay the groundwork for the current program. However, the new Two-Way Program represents the beginnings of a departure from the old transitional philosophy. Now it is clearly important that non-Navajo speaking children in Tuba City learn Navajo as well as non-English speaking students English.

Whether the need is to speak to non-English speaking grandparents or just play with one's peers, bilingualism in Tuba City is an asset for any child. It is for the future to tell if some subjects will be taught in Navajo right through high school as recommended by Stephen Krashen and others. However, the fact that Tuba City High School presently is one of the few high schools with a Native American Studies requirement for graduation indicates K-12 commitment to bilingual and bicultural education.

CONCLUSION

Maintaining Languages
What Works? What Doesn't?[1]

Joshua Fishman

The last time many of us were assembled at this university Dang Pham, Deputy Director of the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs, indicated that the United States Government recognizes a special debt of responsibility to assist Native American peoples to foster and strengthen their languages. This second conference at Northern Arizona University was to be a more concrete step in that direction, listening to ideas, perhaps formulating plans that could benefit from such support, and I am sure that all of you are going to be very alert, just as I am, are going to be very alert, to see if any of the promises that were made at the first meeting will materialize. It is an understatement to say that I am pleased and honored to be here. The opportunity to interact with American Indian languages and their activists is an experience that very few sociolinguists in the United States have been able to have. The reason old-timers like myself still come to these meetings is because sometimes we hear a younger colleague saying things that make us understand language maintenance even better than before, let alone finding out what they are doing, which is what we really have to keep up with.

But it will take more than conferences to keep most American Indian languages from becoming extinct. If all it took was conferences, then the languages would not be in the sad condition that most of them are in now because many of them have been exposed to anthropologists and conferences before. If not conferences, what then? Lots of different approaches have been tried. Is there anything that can be learned from these past efforts, not just among American Indians, but all over the world? A huge proportion, perhaps even the majority, of the world's languages are faced by the very same problems, and people all over the world have tried the best they could. So what can be learned from all that experience?

I spend my summer and winter months at Stanford in the Linguistics Department and my fall and spring days in New York on the campus of the Albert Einstein College of Medicine at Yeshiva University. I told one of my medical colleagues there that I would be talking today on the topic "What works? What doesn't?" So my medical colleague, hearing that, said, "Oh, what works? What doesn't? What disease are you into?" So I looked him straight in the eye and I said, "Lack of sufficient inter-generational mother-tongue transmission." And he said, "Oh, you must be in speech pathology." He was not too far wrong, except that most of the pathology that I am into is sociolinguistic in nature.

---

[1] This paper is adapted from the speech given by Dr. Fishman at the second stabilizing indigenous languages symposium on May 4, 1995.

But his general point was very well taken. Before one can answer the question "What works? What doesn't?" one must specify the disease as precisely as possible. Language endangerment or language destabilization is not a specific disease entity, is not a specific diagnosis, but rather the name of an entire cluster of diseases. If you like, it is an entire department in the medical school. It is what pulmonary medicine is to pneumonia, or cardio-vascular medicine is to a heart murmur, or rehabilitation medicine is to a fractured pelvis. That is, we have to get down to the specific diagnoses, rather than to talk about the departments as such. Lack of sufficient inter-generational mother-tongue transmission is not the only and not even the most serious of the diseases of endangered languages. You have already heard about them, so I am assuming that in the stance of the good teacher, you can stand to hear it again. Sometimes, if you hear it again in other words, it becomes clearer in a different way.

There are at least two other more serious problems for endangered languages, more acute than just lack of mother-tongue transmission. There are languages whose last fluent speakers are already gone or are about to go. At a meeting at Glorieta near Santa Fe, New Mexico, a few months ago, we had actually the last living speaker of one of the languages come. It was a very sad experience for everyone, not just for that woman. And perhaps the saddest thing is that she cannot even talk to her sister anymore, who was the next-to-last speaker before she recently died. She can not call up anybody. The only person for her to talk to is a linguist and that is no fun.

Those who speak still living but severely endangered languages no longer constitute speech communities. They are scattered in old age homes, in convalescent centers, in the geographically dispersed homes of kin or even of non-kin. They cannot interact with other speakers because other speakers are exceedingly few or exceedingly far between. So the question that could be put is: How can they be saved from oblivion? Now I think it is an important thing to ask because those of you coming from strong languages, particularly Navajo, may not think I am talking about you. But there are already communities in your language that are like that. In fact, in many areas, such as Hualapai, those communities speak distinctive dialects that are going to be gone. And the loss of a dialect is as much a loss of authenticity as the loss of a language. Having the language shrink down to one dialect is itself a great loss because those dialects were different because there were also other differences. There are never just dialect differences. They go along with differences in customs, and those differences also get lost.

Well, an obvious answer might be that if we could at least adequately record the spoken language before it was lost entirely (adequately record might mean audio and video and also producing a printed record), we could approximate a good bit of the grammar. We could approximate the phonology; we could approximate a good bit of the lexicon or at least the word forming features of the lexicon. I say approximate because by the time that you are down to the last few speakers of the language, you are often not getting the genuine article anymore. It has already changed in the process of attrition. It has changed and is not what it was, even in strictly linguistic terms. Yet you are getting an approximation, approximation of the prosody, of the rhythm of the language, which is actually one of those elusive areas of the beauty of languages that are very quickly lost and very hard to note down and very hard to learn. And we would also get some of the world view, some of the wisdom, some of the folklore, some of the belief system as well.

For languages hovering on the verge of extinction, the answer to "What works?" is perhaps an archival collection. I remember going to the archival collection for Welsh dialects. Welsh is not about to die, but it has terrible problems. But most of its dialects have gone and fortunately they recognized this as long ago as there were automatic recording devices, and they have recordings of now-vanished dialects for the whole century. In fact, their problem now is how to transfer these recordings to new equipment because the equipment in which they recorded originally is no longer available. Not only is the dialect gone, but the recording equipment is also gone. There is no machinery to listen to some of those early tapes. They are now beginning to digitalize these tapes. That will now take many years. But a serious archival collection is an answer to what works for languages about to disappear, and it would not hurt for many of us to realize that maybe we should give some attention to that.

We do not think we are there. We certainly hope we are not there, but the better part of caution is to start working on that because part of it is going, even if part of it is staying. So the sooner and more completely this is done, the better. Then such archival material can be used to learn the language as a second language, so that even such terribly weakened languages do not have to die entirely. They live in the way museum specimens live. Languages live under glass, too. Now you know that is not really living, but that is the most we can do for some of them. It is an honor that we owe them, to at least do that for them, having abused and neglected them as much as we have.

I am aware of only one language to have been fully re-vernacularized, to have become fully societally revived from the written record, namely Hebrew. And only a few more have been re-vernacularized in some small and atypical clusters of speakers, based upon the record. There are such small clusters of speakers of Sanskrit who raise their children speaking Sanskrit. There are small clusters of speakers of Gee. When I was in Egypt, soon after the Israeli-Egyptian accords were signed, I had the pleasure of being taken around by a Coptic gentleman who was one of a small group that was speaking Coptic to their children. There are also such small revivals from the record for Manx, Cornish, and even Latin. In the Vatican, there are little groups of clergy that have lunch together. "Let's have lunch next Thursday," they say, the Thursday Latin lunch. They have a Latin table at which they sit and have lunch in Latin. However, such very small revivals are not really speech communities. They are what I might call gatherings of hobbyists. Their language is their hobby, and they come together on rare occasions to indulge themselves in it.

Since there are literally thousands of languages in the world that are detached societally; vestigial societally, it is important to realize that this solution, archivization, works in the sense that if started early enough, socially vestigial languages can be saved from total extinction. But the question is whether "that is really living."

Many languages are dead as far as certain beholders are concerned, i.e. some languages are "wished to be dead." This is because they represent cultures that are problematic for their opponents. I could finance this conference if I had a dollar for every time since the beginning of the nineteenth century opponents said that Welsh was dead, Irish was dead, Scots Gaelic was dead, Frisian was dead, Alsatian was dead, Breton was dead, Basque was dead, and Occitan was dead, just to stay in western Europe, not to go into Soerbian, Yiddish, Belorussian, and Ainu and so on and so forth in other parts of the world. It is a diagnosis often pronounced prematurely. Even by people who should know better, because they are from that speech area. One of the problems of disintegrating languages is that their speech communities and networks are no longer in touch with each other. The fact that it is dead in one place is maybe unfortunately true, whereas at the same time, in speech networks miles away it can still be functioning, even functioning intergenerationally. You should guard against the subjectivity that is involved in proclaiming a language dead; even with respect to medical school problems. The actual definition of when someone is dead is not an open and shut case. And with respect to societal phenomena, it is even less open and shut. Nevertheless, many languages have really died. We may have no record of them, and the best that can be done for others is to archive them before it is irreparably too late.

So, for some languages the question is, Is an archives a mausoleum or is it really living? Is it "let's pretend living" or is it "really living"? Well, if the alternative is complete extinction or obliteration, then an archive might be viewed as "really living." That is as close to really living that some languages are going to be. There will be scholars and graduate students, some of them coming from the same background that mausoleum language represents, and they will examine it again. Now that we have audio-recording, they can examine it even better than they could before, if you are wise enough to do the archive as the Welsh did, not just in transcription, but in audio. So, if it is not really living, if you quarrel with that, it might still be heard in the walls of the classroom where it could be taught again or it could be that someone will organize a society for the lovers of Manx. They will get together on alternate Thursdays and they will say some of those words again. That will be as close to living as some languages will get, perhaps.

However, if the alternative for a particular language is not just the mausoleum, perhaps it can aspire to societal re-attachment or even more to inter-generational mother-tongue transmission, not just to societal re-attachment. It may realistically aspire to the inter-generational transmission of that re-attachment, so that it becomes the mother tongue of a vibrant speech community.

I have been collecting what people say about their languages. I have now thousands of statements, for hundreds of languages. I remember this one off-hand from Ainu in Japan, the statement is, "We will not go into the museum. We will not be archivized. We can still become pregnant. We can still bear children. And they can still laugh with Ainu on their lips." So, for some languages, a mausoleum would be really premature death, that is killing the patient in front of you. The issue is: Is there really an alternative to the mausoleum?

There are some societies represented in this room where elderly folk still enjoy life and they do so largely in their beloved language. They converse in it; they argue; they sing; and they pray, if prayer is permissible in that language. They entertain; they reminiscence; they counsel; and they feel fully alive in doing so and if you visit them, you can see the pleasure that they have. But their children and grandchildren do not do that. These old folks might not even realize just how endangered their languages are because they speak so freely, because they enjoy so fully. They enjoy their reminiscences and the stories and the anecdotes and the proverbs, and, at times, some of them have newsletters and records and performances that they go to. But they have no younger heirs. In another decade or two or three, their ranks will be so thinned that anyone wondering how it sounded to banter in the language would have difficulty finding an answer. I got an e-mail request from a young scholar in California this week asking 'are their any recordings of just animated natural conversation' in a language that he is trying to learn, because all he has is language records where the teacher says the words very slowly and carefully and the other person in the conversation responds in the same fashion. So if you really want to know how it really sounded, you better get it while it is really being spoken, if only as an insurance policy, and do it when informants are plentiful, rather than you only have one left and you have to take whatever that one has.

Now it has been said by scoffers that languages do not die, they commit suicide. And sometimes this is literally true. Some of them begin to do it far before they have any need to. Some of them do it toward the end. Sometimes they may say they wish there was a younger generation that knew the language, but they do not really do anything about it. At an unconscious level, some of them may even enjoy being the last real native speakers. I have had people in old age homes come up to me and saying with pride, "Don't listen to him; listen to me. I am the real last native speaker." Such people might be quite upset to find out that there is a young speaker or there is still a club of young speakers. So, worry about denial, that is important, and worry about death wish, not only death wishes toward someone else's language, but toward your own, at the end. Reinterpret the fact that older speakers sometimes do not even seek new ways of re-establishing the intergenerational connection in light of the fact that they can only do the things they have been doing. They can only do the things that they have been doing all along. That is the only thing they know how to do. They have their cohorts; they have their hobby group or their club; and those things are age-graded. The things they talk about, the things they sing about, are old-age-graded and no young person is going to get any pleasure out of these kinds of conversation. ("What did the doctor tell you last time you went there?") Those are not young topics.

New ways are needed because, obviously, the old ones have not succeeded. And these communities of old timers, enjoying the language, they will soon have to fish or cut bait. Fish — that means to galvanize themselves to work out a joint effort with the generations of their children and grandchildren. Sometimes it is easier with the grandchildren than with the children. The grandchildren, at least, do not have the guilt experience of having chucked the language themselves. So, I want to say to our Hualapai speaker who dreads becoming a grandfather, that it could be great fun. I must say, having five grandchildren who speak my threatened language, that, if I had known grandchildren were so much fun, I would have started with them. It is the biggest lift. They make me think that maybe I will triumph over death when I hear them speaking to me. So, that is the fish. They have to find young people or young people have to find them. Both of those things are important and there are California programs of sharing young people with old people They find grandparents, who are still speaking endangered languages, for young people who want to learn them, providing two way satisfaction and another chance for vernacularizing. Cut bait —begin building oral history and oral cultural archives that will outlive these old timers that are enjoying themselves and will be available for their great-grandchildren.

So, as far as what works and what does not, there are two possibly gratifying and successful inter-generational options when societally intact seniors are still plentiful and available. They can go in one direction, the progressive de-vernacularization of the archival variety or they can go in the inter-generationally re-vernacularizing direction. Most of the languages that I have studied intensively are not Amerindian ones. The only Amerindian one that I have had repeated contact with, as you have heard, is Navajo over very many years, and not enough contact even there. But the inter-generational re-vernacularization route has turned out to be unexpectedly difficult, particularly when the two generational hiatus already exists. The grandchildren may be more positive. They have less guilt, but they only know about the rumor of where the fire burned, where the holy fire was. They only see that as a story. The life is no longer there and the language is a lot easier to teach than to build a culture that surrounds and needs and uses that language.

The question is why is re-vernacularization so hard? Much harder than either language teaching or language learning, that are hard enough. We are not very good at language teaching because vernaculars are inter-generational on informal, spontaneous bases, outside any formal institutionalized bases. That is what they are. I listened to what Damon Clarke, the Hualapai, was saying, and he was talking about informal life. All of his examples about girls and about grandparents were informal, daily life. Vernaculars are acquired in infancy, in the family, which means in intimacy. They are handed on that way, in intimacy and in infancy. Schools teach and students learn, even languages sometimes, but schools are programmed and not generally inter-generational institutions. I do know of a few schools where it is required that the parents attend the school if the child is to be admitted to the school. But there are very few schools of that kind. Fortunately, my wife once attended such a school when our child was admitted. My wife did know the language, but most of the parents did not. Therefore, they were learning everything the child was learning and they could go home and talk about those same things that the teacher was talking about in the school and do so in the language of the teacher. But schools are normally programmed and not inter-generational, and mother-tongues are inter-generational and not programmed. You see, they have almost completely opposite constellations of forces.

Why is breaking through to this crucial stage of inter-generational intimacy and informality so hard for any large number of people? I know thousands of people who have decided to do it. So, "will" is very important. But it often is just not enough. Why can not we organize for institutionalized languages, languages of formal institutions? We can organize for languages of school; we can organize for languages of church; we can organize for languages of government; we can organize for languages of the upper-work sphere. Yet none of the foregoing result in informal, inter-generational mother-tongue transmission. All those thousands of years that Hebrew was transmitted through formal institutions did not help it to become a mother-tongue. It took a group who said, "We don't want that formal institution. We don't want it at all." They, therefore, broke away. It was a break-away group. Right, they were secessionists. They broke away from society and created a society of their own. It is very hard to do that.

Vernacularization is the opposite of institutionalization. Re-vernacularization requires not only inter-generational language transmission, but societal change. More than a language involved. If you are going to change the language, you have to change the society. That is, informal society must change its way of living during the long stretch from one generation to the next. Schools do not stretch that long, from one generation to the next. Informal role relationships already established in a new language must come to be implemented in the old language, in order for the old language to be transmitted from parents to children. Parents are already talking the new language; they have to change themselves , and they need a society that is changing, too, for them to transmit it to a newborn as a mother tongue. Informal topics and places already associated with the new language must come to be associated with the old language, if it is to be transmitted via intimacy and in infancy.

There must be consensual advantages for changing from the new ways to the old ways. No one changes to cut off their nose to spite their face. No one does it because they are masochists and they are just looking for something that is going to hurt. That is not why people change their way of living. There has to be something that they are gaining, that they believe they are gaining, something that means so much to them that it is a worthwhile gain to them. Every infant acquiring the beloved old language at home must have ample out-of-home interlocutors, topics, and places for informal use of the language all the way through to the time when he or she becomes a parent. Every student, and I think this may shake many of you in this room, acquiring the beloved language in school must have ample out-of-school and after-school informal interlocutors, places, and topics to see him or her through to his or her own child-bearing stage. Re-vernacularization requires changes in established informal conventions and their reinforcement from various directions, from status-gain, from friendship-gain, from affection-gain. All of these are sources of support that endangered languages (and institutionalized languages) typically lack.

Now I want to make it clear: I do not say that we can do without institutions such as schools, churches, or other agencies. But languages can become institutionalized and remain only within the institutions that teach them and espouse them and use them. Institutions, although important, should be on tap and not on top of a language. The language does not belong to them. The language makes use of them. Those who are building the language make use of them. Above all, these institutions should foster the language as links with the outside world, with the informal interactions that constitute the bulk of life, the crux of inter-generational mother-tongue transmission. And that is why it is hard to break through. That is why a revolution is required. That is why those very folks who broke away from the book of the church, the Jewish book of the Jewish "church," led the way to re-vernacularize Hebrew. They were social revolutionaries.

This is something the Irish revivalists learned late and to their chagrin in having banked on the school and on the Minister of Finance to do the job. Neither of them together, and they were not always pulling together, could do it for most of the children growing up. There is a catch 22 here that I am sure you have noticed. Endangered languages become such because they lack informal inter-generational transmission and informal daily life support, but, in order to cease being endangered, they need exactly what they do not have and cannot easily get. To move from being have-nots to being haves, a societal revolution is required so that not one or two institutions support the beloved language. It is crucial informal relationships that constitute the lion's share of normal daily life (listen again to the Hualapai speaker), crucial informal relationships that constitute the lion's share of normal daily life. These relations are the ones that bring you back into inter-generational mother-tongue transmission and give the beloved language the support it needs. Can this be done? Is such a revolution possible? Can people change their daily life by planning together to do so? Well, I have both good news and bad news for you. The good news is that my experience with thirteen in-depth cases, that I have devoted about a quarter of a century to, tells me that it is possible for small groups of quite atypical individuals to re-arrange their lives individually and collectively exactly in this revolutionary way. The more dislocated the language is, the smaller those groups will be. A language that is far gone requires a great deal of idiosyncratic support. It is hard to predict who is going to devote their lives to them any more. It will be an exceedingly small group. This is one of those cases that "To them that have shall be given, and to them that have not, shall be taken away." The smaller the group, the harder it is for them to find even a small handful of people that will really rearrange their lives on their behalf. In language as in business, nothing succeeds like success.

What do they do, these small groups of totally dedicated individuals who rearrange their lives, not for the language, but for the lifestyle, the lifestyle that the language is related to? First of all, they depend primarily on themselves and on each other, rather than on outside support. Outside support comes from people that are not using the language. They have nothing to gain from helping you use the language and, therefore, if they do support you at sometime, they are not going to be there when you need them, down the road. So these folks depend primarily on themselves and on each other. They start with feasible goals and their immediate informal or local lower-level formal environment, with the kind of school they can support, the kind of school they can run, the kind of school they can control, and also other environments that they can control. They will win friends and influence people by offering them valuable rewards, services, and co-opting them informally as well.

I have here this little book titled *Social Work and the Welsh Language*. Every page is in both languages, not every other page, but every page is in both languages, so all you have to do for any word you do not know is to go across the line to find it in English. And what is the book *Social Work and the Welsh Language* about? It is about using Welsh in job training, job retraining, health counseling, literacy efforts, school transitioning, helping kids go from elementary to high school, bereavement counseling, building happy peer group ties, and vocational planning. In other words, Welsh language activists offer these services to the community.

They will help you with your problem, but you may have to join a little peer group that is meeting afternoons to have lunch in Welsh. It may be worth it to you, to get help with job or with school transitioning, or with physical recovery after an illness. So they win friends and influence people by offering them valuable rewards and services, mostly at the inter-personal level and co-opting these people informally as they go along. They concentrate on inter-generational experiences that include the young and the very young, together with the older. They focus on those functions that they can fully control — family, friendship, lower level formal institutions, and, above all, they do not wait too long to get started on all of the above. An early start before inter-generational mother-tongue transmission has ceased to occur is worth more than tons of sage advice. It is better and easier to foster informal life when it still exists. It is the hardest thing to create afterwards. It is very hard to create, to program that which is essentially not programmed or programmable. At best, you can program situations that might facilitate it.

One thing we can be sure of, those who do not give up, but try again and again, become a community of hope, a community of dedication. They become a *gemeinschaft* rather than a *gesellschaft*, if you know those German sociological terms. So "what works, what does not" sounds like a simple question. But it is really a most difficult question. As in most complex societal areas, the answer is, "It all depends." You know that. It all depends on what the degree of endangerment is because the solution of what works varies with the problem. It depends on the resources available, particularly man-power resources to make things work. It depends on imponderable, historical, contextual circumstances, like "Are you fighting English or are you fighting Frisian?" I once went and visited a Frisian area and they brought in a small group that are surrounded by Frisians. They thought Frisians were the enemy. It makes a difference whether you are fighting English, Dutch, or Frisian because all those languages differ greatly in what they have to offer to those who will totally join their ranks. So there are imponderables and you have to just hope on the flip of a coin you come out the right way. There is nothing you can do about some of those things, but, as you know, imponderable advantages have a way of going in favor of those people who are on top anyway. That means you do not have much latitude for mistakes. If you bark up the wrong tree, you will not live to bark many other years. If you bet on things that do not lead to inter-generational mother-tongue transmission, but rather lead to nice graduation parties from school, then you have lost another go at it.

Many of you know about the famous Dr. Samuel Johnson, an English lexicographer and conversationalist of the eighteenth century. He had a habit in his dictionary of giving highly personal word definitions. To illustrate the word "focus", which was a new word in English at the time, borrowed from French, he gave the following sentence: "Nothing focuses the mind like an imminent hanging. One's [own] even more so than another's." All right, I am going to give you a quotation from Dr. Samuel Johnson who defined "lost cause." He said, "A lost cause is a cause whose adherents permit hope to take precedence over experience."

And what we have to ask ourselves, "Is reversing language shift a lost cause?" Well, perhaps it is. But all of life is a lost cause. We are all sitting and dying right in this room, except you feel it more than I do because I am talking and you are listening. All of life is a lost cause. We all know the road leads only downward into the grave. There is no other way it will go. Those that have hope at least share the benefits of hope, and one of those benefits is community. Reversing language shift efforts on behalf of the inter-generational mother-tongue transmission is community building, that is what is essentially required, in and through the beloved language. So, what have they accomplished, those Irish revivalists whom I have studied for such a long time? Can you imagine, in seventy-five years of work, which is longer than most of you have worked on this problem by a long shot, they have gone from a time when five percent of the Irish population was Irish mother-tongue to a time when three percent is Irish mother-tongue. After having tried everything that you are ever likely to think of. But, by this time, two-thirds of the population understands Irish, which was not the case at that earlier time. Two-thirds of it have been strongly influenced by all these things that the revivalists did, even though few of them ever actually speak the language. Irish would be in even worse condition had the revivalists not done all they did.

The Irish revivalists have voluntary neighborhoods in which all community services and all community informal life is in Irish. They are involved in a constant outreach effort (through clubs, camps, vacation spots, and teams) toward the appreciation and understanding of the Irish language. And that is why there are two-thirds of them now in the country who when they go to France and do not want to be mistaken for an Englishman, talk Irish to each other in a Paris cafe , even though they do not do it when they get back to Dublin. They could, but they do not. Their life has not changed that way. So, can anyone doubt that Irish today would be dead as a vernacular had it not been for the insistence of the stubborn revivalists that they wanted it for themselves and their children, regardless of what other Irish folk say, regardless of what other Irish folks do.

I want to say in closing that a huge proportion of my quotations in my new book deal with sanctity, that is with the sense that there is something holy about the language. It may be sanctity itself or sanctity once removed, sanctity by translation. The holy script was translated into this language of mine. Or I just feel God through that language because it brings me closer to the spirit and the soul and life as well as life after death. So, underlying all of this there must be a life-style in which there is a sense of the sanctity of custom and tradition. The ultimate source of all societal dedication is a feeling that one is dealing with something that is out of the ordinary, hum-drum experience.

As one who is the child of two language activists and the father and grandfather of language activists, I am sure that the lives of four generations have been enriched and even ennobled by the struggle. Our language is still endangered, but it would be infinitely more so without our struggle. Archives have been built for this language, nice mausoleums, but we activists decided that we were going to live in it. The prophetic reading for this week, for the lection of this week in Jewish Orthodox houses of worship, includes the following: "The days are coming when the plowman will be overtaken by the reaper." The imagery here is that the wheat will grow so fast that the reaper who is cutting the wheat will catch up with the plowman who is putting in the new seeds. "And the planters [will be overtaken] by the ones treading the grapes, new wine will drip from the mountains and from all the hills, they will plant new vineyards and drink their wine. They will make gardens and eat their fruits." So, here is my parting sentences: Do not give up; but do not get your priorities wrong, because you do not get many chances in this game. And above all remember that living languages are not primarily in institutions, but above them, beyond them, all around them.

November Symposium Program Cover

STABILIZING
INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES
SYMPOSIUM
SPONSORED BY
U.S. OFFICE of BILINGUAL EDUCATION &
MINORITY LANGUAGES AFFAIRS
IN COOPERATION WITH
NORTHERN ARIZONA UNIVERSITY
OFFICE of INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS IN EDUCATION

Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Language Affairs (OBEMLA) Roundtable

STABILIZING INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES

FOCUS: CREATING AN AGENDA FOR REVERSING LANGUAGE SHIFT
November 16 - 18, 1994

Hosted by Northern Arizona University
with assistance from:

- Bilingual Unit, AZ Dept. of Education
- The Hopi Tribe
- Navajo Community College
- The Navajo Nation
- Tuba City Unified School District #15
- EAC - West, Las Vegas, New Mexico

Wednesday, November 16, 1994

1:00-5:30 p.m. Welcoming all Participants: Eastburn Educ. Building

5:30-6:45 p.m. Buffet Supper, Eastburn Building

7:00 p.m. Opening Session: Cline Library Auditorium
Welcome: Dr. Henry O. Hooper, Academic Vice President, NAU
Mr. Dang T. Pham, Deputy Director, OBEMLA
"OBEMLA's Commitment to Endangered Indigenous Languages"
Dr. Joshua Fishman, Distinguished Professor, Emeritus, Yeshiva University
"Reversing Language Shift: Challenges, Strategies and Success Stories"
Brief Period for Questions, Comments

Thursday, November 17, 1994

Havasupai Room C

8:00 a.m.	Overview of the Roundtable Processes by the Planning Committee and Facilitators
8:30 a.m.	Division into Working Groups Group 1: Creating a Rationale and Needs Statement - Walnut Room North Group 2: Language Policy: International/National/Tribal Cooperation, Planning, and Research - Walnut Room South Group 3: Community Issues and Strategies - Oak Creek Room North Group 4: Education: Early Childhood Through University and Adult/Community Education - Oak Creek Room South
11:00 a.m.	Conclusion of morning deliberations, with intergroup summations and discussions - Havasupai Room C
11:30 a.m.-12:00	Report of Group 1 - Creating a Rationale and Needs Statement by Jon Reyhner, Facilitator
12:00-1:30 p.m.	Lunch Break
1:00 - 5:00 p.m.	Continuation of Working Groups 2, 3, and 4 Members of Group 1 will join one of these groups. Facilitators will insure continuous contact between groups.
8:00 - 9:30 p.m.	Panel discussion with Roundtable volunteers Open to faculty, students and community members — Havasupai Room C

Friday, November 18, 1994

8:00 - 10:15 a.m.	Continuation of Working Groups
10:30 a.m.	Intergroup Summation by Facilitators (30 minutes each)
12:00 noon	Buffet Lunch and Adjournment

November Roundtables

GROUP 1: Creating a Rationale and Needs Statement
Facilitator: Jon Reyhner
(Groups 2, 3, and 4 will each send two members to participate in Group 1)

- Key Issues:
  - Philosophical Foundations
  - Human rights issues
  - Interconnected social, political and linguistic needs of tribes and American Indian communities
  - Benefits of cultural diversity, human survival, and quality of life for all people
  - Other issues suggested within the group

GROUP 2: Language Policy: International/National/State/Tribal Policy, Cooperation, Planning, and Research
Facilitators: William Demmert and Robert Arnold

- Key Issues:
  - Current policy needs
  - Funding
  - General awareness of public and policy makers
  - Current research and research needs
  - Networking, collaborative efforts; assistance for activists
  - Other topics suggested within the group

GROUP 3: Community Issues and Strategies
Facilitators: Joshua Fishman, Benjamin Barney, and Dan McLaughlin

- Key Issues:
  - Options for speech communities including corpus planning and literacy issues
  - Leadership issues
  - Local research needs
  - Issues related to intergenerational transmission of mother tongues including capabilities to comprehend and produce the target languages
  - Role of the arts in maintaining and rejuvenating languages
  - Interface of language and cultural issues with community, mental, and physical wellness issues
  - Other issues suggested within the group

GROUP 4: Education: Early Childhood Through University and Adult/Community Education
Facilitators: John Oller and Richard Littlebear

- Key Issues:
  - Instructional issues
  - Curricular models
  - Materials
  - Research needs
  - Early Childhood/Parental Education
  - Other issues suggested within the group

Symposium Planning Team

Gina Cantoni, Regents' Professor, NAU (PI of OBEMLA grant)
Benjamin Barney, Director of Teacher Education Program, Navajo Community College
Roberto Luis Carrasco, Associate Professor, BME, NAU
Deborah House, Navajo Community College, Doctoral candidate in Anthropology, U of A
Richard Littlebear, Director of Multifunctional Resource Center, Anchorage, AK
Gary McLean, Assistant Superintendent, Tuba City Unified School District

Facilitators

Robert Arnold, George Washington University
Benjamin Barney, Navajo Community College
William Demmert, Western Washington University
Joshua A. Fishman, Yeshiva University/Stanford University
Richard Littlebear, Director of Multifunctional Resource Center, Anchorage, AK
Dan McLaughlin, Editor, *Journal of Navajo Education*
John Oller, University of New Mexico
Jon Reyhner, Montana State University, Billings

MAY SYMPOSIUM PROGRAM

Thursday, May 4, 1995

1:30 - 5:15 PM
Havasupai Room

INTRODUCTIONS: Johnson Dennison, MC
INVOCATION: Gloria Johns

Review Of November, 1994 Roundtable Sessions
Richard Littlebear, Director, MRC Anchorage, AK

"Status of Native North American Language Endangerment: Why Should We Care?"
Michael Krauss, University of Alaska, Fairbanks

"Sociological and Historical Perspectives on Language Shift"
James Crawford, Author, Consultant

"What My Language Means To Me"
Damon Clarke and McQueen Suen-Redhouse

"What Works, What Doesn't"
Joshua Fishman, Distinguished Professor of Social Sciences (Emeritus)
Ferkauf Graduate School, Yeshiva University, NYC

Preview Of Friday's Sessions
Benjamin Barney, Director, Teacher Education, Navajo Community College

Dinner Break

7:30-9:30 PM
NATIVE LANGUAGES IN THE ARTS
Prochnow Auditorium

WELCOME
Dr. Clara M. Lovett, President, Northern Arizona University

PERFORMANCES
Tuba City High School Players
Rex Lee Jim **Laura Wallace**

Friday, May 5, 1995

8:00 - 9:00 am
TRIBAL LANGUAGE REPORTS
Chemistry 106
LaVerne Jeanne (Hopi)
Dennis Moquino (Zia Pueblo)
Lester & Merton Sandoval (Jicarilla Apache)
Phyllis Antone (Tohono O'odham)

9:30 am - 12:00 PM
Concurrent Sessions

Early Childhood
MODERATOR: Gary D. McLean
(1) Dorothy Denetsosie & Ellavina Perkins (Navajo)
(2) Phyllis Antone (Tohono O'odham)
(3) Rosa Achondo (Pascua Yaqui)
(4) Bill Wilson (Hawaiian)
Havasupai Room A

Adult Education
MODERATOR: Deborah House
(1) Anna Walters (Pawnee/Otoe-Missouria)
(2) Emmit White (Pima)
(3) Esther Scott (Yavapai)
(4) Jorigine Bender (Hualapai)
(5) Gloria Johns (Navajo)
Oak Creek Room

Family/Community
MODERATOR: Alice Tracey
(1) Jill Fletcher (Hupa)
(2) Terry Supahan (Karok)
(3) Gary Owens (Maricopa)
(4) Mary Belice Belin (Tohono O'odham)
(5) Marjorie Thomas (Navajo)
Havasupai Room B

Schools/Developmental
MODERATOR: Ferlin Clark
(1) Lucille and Philbert Watahomigie and Damon Clarke (Hualapais)
(2) Duane Magoon & Alice Fitka (Yup'ik, Bethel, AK)
(3) Bernadette Manase, E. Luaao, & M. Fiamalua (American Samoa)
(5) Pauline Gordon (Inuvik NWT, Canada)
Havasupai Room C

Friday, May 5, 1995

1:30 - 4:00 PM

Concurrent Sessions

Media/Writers/Arts
MODERATOR: Benjamin Barney
(1) Selena Manychildren (Navajo)
(2) Rex Lee Jim (Navajo)
(3) Ofelia Zepeda (Tohono O'odham)
(4) Anna Lee Walters (Pawnee/Otoe/Missouria)
(5) Simon Ortiz (Acoma)
Havasupai Room A

Schools/Acquisition
MODERATOR: Gary D. McLean
(1) Helen Rosier (Navajo)
(2) Louise Scott & Cindy Joe (Navajo)
(3) Lettie Nave (Navajo)
(4) Pauline Gordon (Inuvik)
Havasupai Room C

Colleges/Universities
MODERATOR: Dan McLaughlin
(1) Lorene Legah (Navajo)
(2) Evangeline Parsons-Yazzie (Navajo)
(3) Terry McCarty & Lucille Watahomigie (Hualapai)
(4) Doris Leader Charge & Duane Hollow Horn Bear (Lakotas)
(5) Bill Wilson (Hawaiian)
Havasupai Room B

4:00 - 5:00 PM: *Break*

5:00 - 6:15 PM
DISCUSSANTS' WRAP-UP
Havasupai Room
Lorena Zah Bahe, Gloria Emerson, LaVerne Jeanne
Laura Wallace, Gloria Johns

7:30 - 9:00 PM
Cline Library Assembly Hall
NATIVE AMERICAN STUDENT PANEL
Moderator: Selena Manychildren, Announcer for Navajo Radio KTNN

Saturday, May 6, 1995

Havasupai Room

9:00 - 11:00 am
LANGUAGE ACTIVISTS PANEL

Moderator:
Richard Littlebear (Northern Cheyenne)

Panelists:
Marjorie Thomas (Navajo)
Rosemary Ackley Christensen (Anishinabe)
Lorena Zah Bahe (Navajo)
Radford Quamahongnewa (Hopi)
Kauanoe Kamanā & William Willson (Hawaiian)
Ofelia Zepeda (Tohono O'odham)

Closing Prayer:
Radford Quamahongnewa

11:10 am
Summation, Plans for the Future
Steering and Planning Committees

11:30 am
FAREWELLS

Symposia Participants[1]

Chris Anstrom, NCBE, 1118 22nd NW, Washington, DC 20037. Phone: 800 321-6223
Martin J. Antone, Chairman, Ak-Chin Indian Comm., 42507 Peter's & Nall Rd., Maricopa, AZ 85239. Phone: 602 568-2618
Phyllis Antone, Tohono O'odham, PO Box 1222, Sells, AZ 85634. Phone: 520 383-2221
Caroline Antone, Consultant, 42507 Peter's & Nall Rd., Maricopa, AZ 85239. Phone: 602 568-2618
Naullaq Aquaquq, Init Box 1330, Iqaluit, NW Terr XOAOHO.
Robert Arnold, Director, Native American Policy Council, George Washington Univ., Washington, DC 20202. Phone: 202 994-1452
Benjamin Barney, Director of Teacher Education, Navajo Community College, Box 407, Tsaile, AZ 86556. Phone: 520724-3311 ext. 248
Anne Beck, Sr. Program Coordinator, NAU Box 6025, Flagstaff, AZ 86011. Phone: 520 523-6596
Carlos Begay, NCC Student, PO Box 276, Tsaile, AZ 86556. Phone: 520 724-3311
Della Begay, P.O. BOX 1933, Kirtland, NM 87417.
Mary B. Belin, [H] HCO2 Box 100, Sells, AZ 85634. Phone: 520 383-2620
Malcolm Benally, 1626 N. Navajo, Flagstaff, AZ 86001. Phone: 520779-3241
Jorigene Bender, PO Box 360, Peach Springs, AZ 86434. Phone: 520769-2202
Teresa Boone, Coordinator, P.O. BOX 6025, Flagstaff, AZ 86011.
Norma V. Booth, Graduate Fellow, Nogales, AZ 85628. Phone: 520 287-5029
Elizabeth Brandt, Professor, Anthropology Dept., Arizona State Univ., Box 872402, Tempe, AZ 85287-2402. Phone: 520 965-5992
Norman Brown, PO Box 160, Tuba City, AZ 86045. Phone: 520 283-6271
Barbara J. Burnaby, Chair, Dept. of Adult Ed, 252 Bloor St West, Toronto, Ontario M5S 1V6. Phone: 416 923-6641 ext. 2341
Gina Cantoni, Director, I.P.E., Box 5774, Flagstaff, AZ 86011. Phone: 520 523-7144
Michael Capurso, 1050 Maryvale Dr., Cheektowaga, NY 14225.
Pat Carr, Teacher, PO Box LL, Denehotso, AZ 86535. Phone: 520 658-3201

---

[1] This is an edited combined list from Symposiums I and II. We apologize for anyone inadvertently overlooked.

Roberto Carrasco, Associate Professor, Northern Arizona University, Box 5774, Flagstaff, AZ 86011. Phone: 520 523-7148
Keith Carreiro, Asst. Professor, Northern Arizona University, Box 5774, Flagstaff, AZ 86011. Phone: 520 523-5856
Cleo Charging, HC1 Box 50, Roseglen, ND 58775.
Rosemary Christensen, 1305 Loden RD, Duluth, MN 55805. Phone: 218724-1291
Ferlin Clark, Navajo Ford Program, PO Box 142-B, Tsaile, AZ 86556. Phone: 520 724-3311
Damon Clarke, Graduate Fellow, NAU Box 5774, Flagstaff, AZ 86011. Phone: 520 523-7822
Stella Claw, PO Box 1684, Tuba, AZ 86045. Phone: 520283-6281
John Conway, Curriculum Devlp., PO Box 2710, Tuba City, AZ 86045. Phone: 520 283-4406
Patricia Corbin, Teacher, PO Box 612, Overgaard, AZ 85933. Phone: 520 535-4238
James Crawford, Consultant, 7904 Long Branch Parkway, Takoma Park, MD 20912. Phone: 301 270-6962
Roberta M. Deering, Box 581, Ganado, AZ 86505. Phone: 602 755-6126
William Demmert, Visiting Professor, Dept. of Anthropology, Western Washington University. Bellingham, WA 98225. Phone: 360 650-3032
Dorothy Denetsosie, Suite 11, 2717 N. Steves Blvd., Flagstaff, AZ 86004. Phone: 520 535-4238/5930
Johnson Dennison, Director, Office of Diné Educational Philosophy, Navajo Community College, PO Box 276, Tsaile, AZ 86556. Phone: 520 724-3311
Maria Derrick-Mescua, Educational Spec., 2015 Wethersfeld Ct., Reston, VA. 22091. Phone: 1-800-228-6723
Christine Dunham, Parent Ed. Specialist, PO Box 430, Rosebud, SD 57570. Phone: 605747-2833
Russell Eagle Bear, PO Box 490, Mission, SD 57555. Phone: 605856-4463
Gloria Emerson, Director, St. Michael's Drive Box 20007, Santa Fe, NM 87504. Phone: 505 988-6434
Linda Ferguson, 7474 S. Camino de Oeste, Tucson, AZ 85746.
Mataio Fiamalua, Culture Coordinator/Samoan Language, PO Box 2272, Pago Pago, Am. Samoa 96799. Phone: 684 633-1246
Michael Fillerup, Director, ESL Programs, Flagstaff Public Schools, 2344 N. Whispering Pines, Flagstaff, AZ 86001. Phone: 520 527-6040
Joshua Fishman, 1300 Morris Park Ave., Bronx, NY 10461. Phone: 718 430-4201

Alice Fitka, PO Box 305, Bethel, AK 99559-0305. Phone: 907479-6340
Jill Fletcher, PO Box 428, Hupa, CA 95546. Phone: 916 625-4040
Athanase Gahungu, Graduate Assistant, NAU Box 5774, Flagstaff, AZ 86011. Phone: 520523-8266
Xun Ge, Graduate Assistant, NAU Box 5774, Flagstaff, AZ 86011. Phone: 520 523-8266
Constantino Ghini, PO Box 661, Charenton, LA 70523. Phone: 318 923-4973
Willard Gilbert, Associate Professor, Northern Arizona University, Box 5774, Flagstaff, AZ 86011. Phone: 520 523-7107
Sally Gonzales, 7474 S. Camino Del Oeste, Tucson, AZ 85746. Phone: 520 883-4555/ 621-9296
Pauline Gordon, Asst. Director, Beaufort-Delta Div. Board of Education, Inuvik, NWT, Canada. XOE OTO Phone: 403 979-7131
Geraldine Greenwood, Director of Language Retention, PO Box 1548, Ada, OK 74820. Phone: 405 436-2603
Ernesto Gutierrez, Program Manager, 1600 St. Michael's Dr., Santa Fe, NM 87504.
Charlotte Harvey, Administrative Assistant, Northern Arizona University, PO Box 5774, Flagstaff, AZ 86011. Phone: 520 523-1893
Joyce Harvey-Morgan, Associate Director, 3910 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, PA 19104-3111. Phone: 215 898-9804
M. F. (Dick) Heiser, Liaison, Title VII, NAU, PO Box 5774, Flagstaff, AZ 86011. Phone: 520 523-7144
Eduardo Hernandez-Chavez, Professor, Humanities Bldg, UNM, Albuquerque, NM.
Duane Hollow Horn Bear, Professor, Sinte Gleska University, Box 490, Mission, SD 57555. Phone: 605 856-4463
Wayne Holm, Navajo Division of Education, Drawer N, Window Rock, AZ 86515. Phone: 520 871-7660
Henry Hooper, Academic Vice-President, Northern Arizona University, Box 4120, Flagstaff, AZ 86011. Phone: 520 523-6726
Deborah House, Chair, Humanities Division, Navajo Community College, Tsaile, AZ 86556. Phone: 520 724-3311
Alan Hudson, Professor, Albuquerque, NM 87131. Phone: 505 277-2468
Rex Lee Jim, Instructor, Rock Point Community School, PO Box 159, Rock Point, AZ 86545. Phone: 520 659-4221
Cindy Joe, Principal, Tuba City Primary School, PO Box 3598, Tuba City, AZ 86045. Phone: 520 283-6277
Gloria Johns, Box 5774, Flagstaff, AZ 86011. Phone: 520 523-7456
Juana Jose, Indian Education Office, Arizona Dept. of Education, 1535 W. Jefferson, Phoenix, AZ 85017. Phone: 520 542-4391

Lorraine Kahn, Independent Teacher, Gallup, NM 87305. Phone: 505 786-7346

Kauanoe Kamanā, Hawaiian Language Activist, 2894 Pulima, Hilo, Hawaii 96720. Phone: 808961-5747

Elvin Kelly, Manager, Quezan Tribe, 2229 W. 16th Place, Yuma, AZ 85674.

Anne Kessler, 801 W. 10th St., Juneau, AK 99801.

Barbara Kootswatewa, Consultant, 8921 Slater Ranch Rd., Flagstaff, Arizona 86004. Phone: 520 527-0016

Michael Krauss, Professor, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, AK 99775. Phone: 907 474-6588

Dorothy Le Beau, PO Box 87, Mission, SD 57855. Phone: 605 856-4869

Doris Leader Charge, PO Box 490, Mission, SD 57555. Phone: 605 856-4463

Lorene Legah, Instructor, Navajo Community College, PO Box 991, Window Rock, AZ 86515. Phone: 520 871-5010

Maybelle Little, District Curriculum Writer, Chinle Public Schools, PO Box 383, Chinle, AZ 86503.

Richard Littlebear, 4227 James Drive, Anchorage, AK 99404.

Jane Lockard, Teacher, Chinle Public Schools, Chinle, AZ 86503.

Louise Lockard, NAU Adjunct Faculty, 10250 Palomino Rd, Flagstaff, AZ 86004.

Ramson Lomatewama, 200 S. Leroux, Flagstaff, AZ 86001. Phone: 520 526-8999

Carolina Lopez, NAU Box 15036, Flagstaff, AZ 86011.

Elisapeta Luaao, Cultural Specialist/Samoan Language, PO Box 2272, Pago Pago, Am. Samoa 96799. Phone: 684 633-1246

Edna A. MacLean, President, Ilisagvik College, PO Box 749, Barrow, AK 99723. Phone: 907 852-9101

Duane Magoon, LKSD, Box 305, Bethel, AK 99559-0305. Phone: 907 479-6340

Bernadette Manase, PO Box 2272, American Samoa 96799. Phone: 684 633-1246

Rosilda Manuel, PO Box 3071, Sells, AZ 85634. Phone: 520 383-2221

Selina Manychildren, Announcer, KTNN, PO Box 2569, Window Rock, AZ 86515. Phone: 520 871-2666

Daniel N. Martin, Bilingual Doctoral Fellow, Northern Arizona University, PO Box 724, Window Rock, AZ 86515

Joe Martin, Superintendent, PO Box 337, Kayenta, AZ 86033. Phone: 602 697-3251/2016

Teresa McCarty, Associate Professor, College of Education, Univ. of Arizona, Box 307, Tucson, AZ 85721. Phone: 520 621-1068

Roslyn McCoy, PO Box 661, Clarenton, LA 70523. Phone: 318 923-4973

Doris McGrady, Dept. of Education, 500 Univ. Ave. West, Minot, ND 58707.

Mary McGroarty, NAU Box 6032, Flagstaff, AZ 86011. Phone: 520 523-6273

Daniel McLaughlin, Teacher Education Program Specialist, Navajo Community College, PO Box 407, Tsaile, AZ 86556. Phone: 520724-3311 x284

Gary McLean, Superintendent, Bowie Public Schools, PO Box 272, Bowie, AZ 85605. Phone: 520 847-2545.

Henry Millestein, PO Box 775, Warm Springs, OR 97761. Phone: 503 553-3290

Maria L. Molina, 7474 S. Camino de Oeste, Tucson, AZ 85746.

Dennis Moquino, 135 Capitol Square Dr., Zia Pueblo, NM 87053. Phone: 505 867-3304

Dollie Naranjo, PO Box 20007, Santa Fe, NM 8701. Phone: 505988-6434

Lettie Nave, Teacher, PO Box 559, Ft. Defiance, AZ 86504. Phone: 602729-5731

John W. Oller, Professor of Linguistics, Linguistics Dept. UNM, Albuquerque, NM 87131-1196. Phone: 505 277-7417

Simon J. Ortiz, Author, 3535 N. 1st Av. Apt R-10, Tucson, AZ 85719. Phone: 602 292-2627

Gary Owens, Rt. 1, Box 216, Scottsdale, AZ 85256-9122. Phone: 520 874-8300

Carla Paciotto, Graduate Assistant, PO Box 6004, Flagstaff, AZ 86011-6004. Phone: 520 523-5322

William Palcich, Consultant, 685 Cherokee, Flagstaff, AZ 86001. Phone: 520 525-1837

Scott Palmer, PO Box 2272, Cottonwood, AZ 86326. Phone: 520 646-9021

Lynn A. Palmer, PO Box 2272, Cottonwood, AZ 86326. Phone: 520 646-9021

Evangeline Parsons, Box 5774, Flagstaff, AZ 86011. Phone: 520 523-6234

Verma Pastor, Director of Bilingual Ed., Arizona Department of Ed., 1535 W. Jefferson, Phoenix, AZ 85017. Phone: 520 542-3204

Ellavina Perkins, Professor, Box 6004, Flagstaff, AZ 86011. Phone: 520 523-8085

Dang T. Pham, Deputy Director, 330 C St., SW, Washington, DC 20205. Phone: 202 205-5463

Anita Pfeiffer, Director, Navajo Division of Education, Drawer N, Window Rock, AZ 86515. Phone: 520 871-6774

Stanley Pino, Governor, Zia Pueblo, 135 Capitol Square Dr., Zia Pueblo, NM 87053-6013. Phone: 505 867-3304

Paul Platero, JOM Office, PO Box 1950, JOM Program, Window Rock, AZ 86515. Phone: 602 871-6678

Jane P. Postero, Doctoral Fellow, PO Box 5774, Flagstaff, AZ 86011-5774. Phone: 520 523-3548

Radford Quamahongnewa, Graduate Fellow, PO Box 155, Hotevilla, AZ 86030. Phone: 520 734-2564

Sherry Red Owl, Director, PO Box 430, Rosebud, SD 57570. Phone: 605747-2833

Stephen Reder, Director of Literacy, Lang. & Comm., 101 S.W. Main Street, Ste. 500, Portland, OR 97204. Phone: 503 275-9500

Ulysses Reid, 135 Capitol Square Dr., Zia pueblo, NM 87053-6013. Phone: 505 867-3304

Jon Reyhner, Associate Professor and Bilingual Coordinator, NAU, PO Box 5774, Flagstaff, AZ 86011. Phone: 520 523-0580

Florence Riegelhaupt, NAU, Box 6004, Flagstaff, AZ 86011. Phone: 520 523-8006

Laura Roller, ASU student, 832 W. 5th St, Tempe, AZ 85281. Phone: 602 967-3081

Liz Rose, Coordinator, Yellow Knife, NW Terr, Y. K., Can X1A2I9.

Helen Rosier, Title VII Director, PO Box 337, Kayenta, AZ 86033. Phone: 520697-2075

Merton Sandoval, Administrator, Cult Preservation, PO Box 507, Dulce, NM. Phone: 505 759-3613

Lester Sandoval, PO Box 507, Dulce, NM. Phone: 505 759-3613

Ms. Lester Sandoval, PO Box 507, Dulce, NM. Phone: 505 759-3613

Angelina Saraficio, Graduate Fellow, Guachi Trading Post, Sells, AZ 85634. Phone: 520 362-2231

Karin Schill, Reporter, 1911 N. Marion, Flagstaff, AZ 86001.

Louise Scott, Greyhills High School, Tuba City, AZ 86045.

Esther Scott, 522 Dameron Drive, Prescott, AZ 86301. Phone: 520 445-2625

Peggy F. Scott, PO Box 936, Chinle, AZ . Phone: 520 674-5291

Julie Seavy, 1765 E. 55th St, Apt LL, Chicago, IL 60615. Phone: 312241-6184

Ferrell Secakuku, Chairman, PO Box 123, Kykotsmovi, AZ 86039. Phone: 520 734-2441

Vernon Sells, 1200 W. Apache, Farmington, NM 87402. Phone 505 324 1113

Pamela Sharpe, Professor, BME, Northern Arizona Univ.-Yuma, PO Box 6236, Yuma, AZ 85366. Phone: 520 344-3828

Joyce Silverthorne, PO Box 117, Pablo, MT 59865. Phone: 406 675-4800

Christine Sims, Chair, PO Box 11339, Albuquerque, NM 87192.

Alma Sinquah, Staff Developer, PO Box 2825, Tuba City, AZ 86045. Phone: 520283-4211

Rebekah Smith, PO Box 2736, Camp Verde, AZ 86322. Phone: 520 567-9564

Beverly Smith, School/Community Liaison, Route 1, Box 216, Scottsdale, AZ 85256-9722. Phone: 602 874-8307

Suzanne Sockey, 121 Tijerras, NE, Las Vegas, NM 87102. Phone: 505 759-3614

Mary L. Spencer, Dir. Micro Lang. Inst, U.O.G. Station, Mangilao, Guam 96923. Phone: 671 734-0140

Neola Spotted Tail, PO Box 490, Mission, SD 57555. Phone: 605856-4463

Kay Squier, Graduate Assistant, PO Box 5774, Flagstaff, AZ 86011. Phone: 520 526-7492

LaNell Stahl, 3131 Linda Vista Drive, Flagstaff, AZ 86001.

Dale-Marie Standing Alone, Blood Tribe, PO Box 819, Browning, MT 59417. Phone: 406 338-5411 x239

Kathryn Stevens, Director of Indian Education, Arizona Dept. of Ed., 1535 W. Jefferson, Phoenix, AZ 85017. Phone: 520 542-4391

Terry Supahan, Karok expert, PO Box 389, Orleans, CA 95556. Phone: 916627-3354

Hector Tahu, Superintendent, Tuba City Schools, PO Box 67, Tuba City, AZ 86045. Phone: 520 283-4211

Marjorie Thomas, Associate Superintendent, Chinle Schools, Box 976, Chinle, AZ 86503. Phone: 520 674-9605

Alice Tracey, Graduate Student, 217 Campus Heights, Flagstaff, AZ 86001. Phone: 520523-7773

Ron Trosper, Director, INA, NAU Box 15018, Flagstaff, AZ 86011. Phone: 520 523-6653

Arnold Vigil, PO Box 507, Dulce, NM 87528. Phone: 505759-3614

Charlette I. Vigil, Instructional Aide, PO Box 507, Dulce, NM 87528. Phone: 505 759-3614

Sylvia Wadsworth, NCC Student, Shiprock, AZ. Phone: 520 724-3311

Laura Wallace, PO Box 670, Window Rock, AZ 86515. Phone: 520 871-7466

Anna Walters, PO Box 276, Tsaile, AZ 86556. Phone: 520 724-3311

Kelly Washington, Material Dvpt Specialist, Route 1, Box 216, Scottsdale, AZ 85256-9722. Phone: 602 874-8307

Philbert Watahomigie, Bilingual Director, Peach Springs Public School, PO Box 1360, Peach Springs, AZ 86434. Phone: 520 769-2202

Lucille Watahomigie, Federal Programs Director, Peach Springs Public School, PO Box 360, Peach Springs, AZ 86434. Phone: 520 769-2202

Amelia Watson, Teacher, Many Farms, AZ 86538.

Candace Wheeler, Asst Professor, PO Box 5774, Flagstaff, AZ 86011. Phone: 520523-2735
Emmitt S. White, Ed Dept. Route 1, Box 216, Scottsdale, AZ 85256. Phone: 520 874-8302
Jim Wilce, Student, PO Box 15200, Flagstaff, AZ 86011-5200.
Bill Wilson, Professor, 2894 Pulima, Hilo, Hawaii 96720. Phone: 808933-3454
Mary Wycoff, Western Range, Tuba City, AZ 86045
Lorena Zah-Bahe, PO Box 2224, Window Rock, AZ 86515. Phone: 520 871-5074 x248
Ofelia Zepeda, Douglas Bldg., Room 222, Tucson, AZ 85721. Phone: 520 621-8294
Jeanne Zukowski-Faust, Box 6032, Flagstaff, AZ 86011. Phone: 520 523-9583

Contributors

Dr. Barbara Burnaby is a professor in the Department of Adult Education and the Modern Languages Centre at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. Her research interests include the teaching and development of Aboriginal languages in Canada and language issues for adult immigrants to Canada. Two special foci for her in both these fields are literacy and policy.

Dr. Gina Cantoni is Regents Professor of Education at Northern Arizona University. She has had a long time interest in Indian education and is author of *Content-Area Language Instruction: Approaches and Strategies* (Addison-Wesley, 1987).

Damon Clarke is a member of the Hualapai tribe and a former teacher at Peach Springs Public Schools, Peach Springs, Arizona. He is currently a doctoral student at Northern Arizona University.

James Crawford is a Washington-based writer and the former Washington editor of *Education Week*. He is currently researching endangered indigenous languages. His recent publications include *Bilingual education: History, politics, theory, and practice* and *Hold your tongue: Bilingualism and the politics of "English Only."*

Rosemary Ackley Christensen is a Curriculum Specialist, for the Ojibwe Mekana Learning Research and Curriculum Materials Laboratory in Duluth, Minnesota, and a member of the National Advisory Council on Indian Education (NACIE).

Dr. Joshua Fishman is Distinguished University Research Professor, Social Sciences, Emeritus, at Yeshiva University (New York City) and a former Fellow at Centers for Advanced Study in Behavioral Sciences at Stanford University. He is an author or co-author of more than 700 professional publications (over 60 of them being books and monographs), and he is the general editor and founder of the *International Journal of Sociology of Language*.

Kathy Gross is a Language Development Specialist for the Lower Kuskokwim School District. Her expertise is in intermediate elementary school teaching strategies and ESL methodologies. She taught in several rural Alaska villages before joining the Curriculum-Bilingual Department in 1995.

Deborah House is Chair of the Social Sciences/Education Division at Navajo Community College.

Dr. Michael Krauss is a former president of the Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas and is currently Director of the Alaska Native Language Center at the University of Alaska, Fairbanks.

Duane Magoon is a Language Development Specialist for the Lower Kuskokwim School District. He has worked with Yup'ik students in five villages since 1981 at the secondary level. He will earn his M.A. in bilingual education (muticultural emphasis) from NAU in the summer of 1996.

Dr. Gary McLean is currently Superintendent of Schools for Bowie Public School District, Bowie, Arizona. He was Assistant Superintendent for Curriculum and Instruction for the Tuba City Public School District, Tuba City, Arizona, from 1990 to 1995.

Lettie Nave has taught for over twenty years at Fort Defiance Elementary School, Fort Defiance, Arizona.

Dr. Jon Reyhner is Associate Professor and Coordinator of the Bilingual/Multicultural Education Program in the Center for Excellence in Education at Northern Arizona University. He is editor of *Teaching American Indian Students* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1992) and has written numerous articles on American Indian education.

Beverly Williams is the coordinator for the Curriculum-Bilingual Department for the Lower Kuskokwim School District. She is also on the Alaska World Languages Committee for Alaska 2000 and has been heavily involved in the Alaska Writing Consortium. She has worked with rural Alaskan students for over 15 years.

Dr. Ofelia Zepeda has a degree in linguistics with research emphasis on the Tohono O'odham language. She is the series editor of Sun Tracks, an American Indian literary publication, and is the author of a collection of poems, *Ocean Power: Poems from the Desert* , and co-editor of *Home Places: Contemporary Native American Writing from Sun Tracks* both from the University of Arizona Press.

Conference Evaluation

Comments on the Symposium II and recommendations for the continuation of the effort to reverse language shift:

Please, keep working on this, sponsoring this kind of event. It may take many years to truly understand both problems and solutions. It may also take lots of patience, while people keep learning and working . . . all the while feeling such intense motivation. It is worth it. — Scott Palmer

Phyllis Antone - was clear and distinct and was very thorough on Tohono O'odham. Anna Walters - Adult Ed. - Tsaile, very clear and interesting, most sincere.

Presenters showed physical (real ways), like Mrs. Thomas, in reversing language shift. Not just talk, especially those that sound like rhetoric which makes people sleepy.

Need directory of people working in native language retention AZ/SW, sharing ideas/ activities among the people.

Art/media session was very well done. Disappointing that two presenters did not show up. The caliber of the presenters was outstanding. Presentations were "classy" but warm. Excellent! All presenters were informative and their presentations were heartfelt. The combination of speakers was excellent, representing the range from grass roots to federal initiations. Continue having conferences. Have tribal leaders participate. Generally, the facilities worked very well.

Informative, and I got important information to share with co-workers. Joshua Fishman, as usual, had some excellent points. The schools and development session had some good programs for preserving and promoting Native language. Keep in touch and share successful programs around the globe. Help us research our language status. Show us models that work for most people and ways to make material for sharing. Involve our youngsters at college levels to do research on some aspects of language and culture of their own tribe. The whole conference was excellence and very intense. I gathered much information and appreciated being a participant of the conference.

All the speakers were excellent, I have learned much and updated on what everyone is doing and thinking and making an impact. I learned much from one session on early childhood education. I enjoyed all of the speakers and they give me much encouragement in doing what I had to do about my language in my community. Need all the support from at all professional levels, whether one is native or not. We need to keep in touch and talk to each other, whether we call it conference or roundtable.

Give each other ideas in how to keep language and culture alive within your tribe in the home, school, community, tribal government, and reservation wide.

Interesting programs. Now we need data and real stories of success. Excellent activist panel. Action research - What about documenting not what we are doing, but how and the details about what is really working? Document language situation and real successes. See the fruits of our seeds! Know we are the flowers that produce new seeds.

Promote and publicize the conference more. Also involve school administrators and suppressers as well as teachers and school boarders. In a sense you are "preaching to the choir," but it was a good conference over all.

Actively seek and solicit internet addresses of language activists.

All speakers excellent, stimulating, must be written and spread widely. No interaction, strategizing between panel members or panel and audience. Build coalition of all groups working for similar ends: professional organizations, tribes, governmental agencies, etc., including environmental groups. Educate mainstream populations and develop support for tribes, technical assistance in reversing language shift.

Joshua Fishman's presentation on what works and what doesn't was something that made me think of what some Anglos think of people who speak their language. It makes me more determined. Another person and I did our presentation on Friday on schools/development. I wished I had more time to show how I taught in my Yupik language using cultural activities, i.e., story knife. Keep sharing ideas, learn from each other. Thanks so much for having us Alaskans here. We enjoyed it!

The speakers needed to participate in the entire symposium. Native educators and community activists should be included at all levels of the symposium. The Canadian curriculum materials were excellent. We needed better ways of exchanging materials and material development strategies. The KTNN moderator Selena Manychildren presented interesting comments. We needed participation from other native media developers, Greyhills High School, and Diné Radio. Excellent! Thanks for sponsoring this event at NAU!

Need names of all participants so we can stay in contact.

Dr. Fishman was informative/inspirational. Like to know more from schools, programs in education emphasizing success. Inspirational-emphasize hope, not grieve for the past. Another meeting, more participants from North. We will advertise if given date and time. Appreciate the funding for long-distance travel. Arrange time so that NAU students can attend (not during finals weeks).

Statistics scare me into DOING. Confirmation of fears on language loss. The celebrations of success in language development in schools. Strategies used to promote language use in schools. Promote use of indigenous languages through methods of pride, boundary setting, law changing, teaching. Teaching and more teaching of our languages. Develop a network, develop a clearinghouse to share celebrations of "things that work" and how to do it. Thank you for thinking of and involving many linguistic groups. Thank you, thank you.

Speakers gave different perspectives about language shift from research based, theoretical, and grassroots levels. This information is helpful in helping us shape and form our own perspectives. Sharing of specific strategies for preserving languages. I also enjoyed the student panelist. They should have been included during the daytime sessions. Have activist panel that consist of others, including non-experts. Have conference in native communities and settings.

Jill Fletcher was a fantastic speaker and doer. She is trying hard. She is to be recommended. It's hard, but she knows what she wants and has knowledge of it. I would like to hear from her in later years. Make a difference in your own community by doing, starting, or making language work. Speaking the language and making it work.

The sessions were excellent. Excellent variety of activists. More opportunity to adapt and replicate successful methods. Help in skills of language planning. Other languages outside Southwest need to be present. This group voice needs to be heard by our policy leaders, both tribal and federal.

I appreciated the summaries given on each of the day's session since I came in on Friday afternoon. Panel was varied: from insight on schools from various areas; national political scene, very educational. Set committees to design resolutions etc. to be presented to tribal, state, and federal governments or other national entities that might help impact, support the efforts of native language communities.

Excellent presentations very useful perspectives. Liked Hawaiian program very much, also Ofelia Zepeda and Radford Quamahongnewa. Have a yearly conference, maybe a quarterly newsletter. Summer short-term workshops. Distribute proceedings. Set up a world-wide Web page with the proceedings and other materials people can down load and continually update it. Link it to schools and various academic programs also.

Provide opportunity for more cross-discussion and for setting up networks for mutual support and sharing of material and program ideas.

Excellent presentation by all panelists. I would recommend seminars to intensify enlightenment and endangerment of Native American language. I myself didn't realized that I had a part in endangering the Navajo language and culture. My parents are non-English speakers. I was the first of the children to complete college. After I had children I was completely surrounded by TV, radio, people that communicated via English. Before I realized it my children were speaking and communicating in the English language only. My parents and grandparents' culture and language teaching stopped when they passed away. I only carry what they have taught me, which I am writing in a book form to leave with my children.

Went a little long but good. Great plan. Very interesting sessions. Need to make information from sessions we could not attend available to all. Perhaps in 5 or 6 page program descriptions. Great, need more time for discussion of ideas presented. Publicizing the ideas presented at conference through various routes. Have following session at an appropriate national conference or conferences like NABE so we can nurture the contacts we made. Conference very encouraging to Native people to have their ideas reinforced by professionals (linguistics, etc.). Send out mailing list of attendees and presenters.

Thank you for having me come to the symposium. I felt the panel I was on, Media/Writers/Arts, went very well. Rex Lee Jim, who is a very firm spokesman-advocate for indigenous languages, made a very good presentation I felt. I hope the NAU/OBEMLA goal of finding strategies that work best for the stabilization of Indigenous languages is realized. As an Acoma Pueblo writer-intellectual, I've striven to express/employ a language that concerns itself with not only a mechanical and technical facility or use, but with the poetic-literary nature it has. An Indigenous language (or any language) that has only a technical articulation, no matter how accomplished, is nothing without the depth (sacredness) of the myriad connections to land, culture, and community. Literally, language as cultural consciousness brings us into being, which I tried to peak upon when I explained the Acoma language phrase, "Yaahkah Hanoh naitrah ghuh." I was quite impressed with the Samoan language presentation I heard on Friday. Have you ever had much contact with the indigenous language programs in Canada, the Mohawks of upstate New York, and the Choctaws of Mississippi? I hear they have much experience and made solid efforts in each case.

Again, Dr. Cantoni, thank you for having me come to NAU for the symposium. I would like for us to continue to remain in touch.

I was extremely honored to be with such prestigious presenters as the Hawaiians, Samoans, Alaskans, and others. The first plenary of the roundtable discussions began with five world renowned linguists and researchers. The message was that throughout the world, only six indigenous languages are actively used and maintained at their highest level of literacy and fluency. Hebrew is the only language that was ever close to extinction and then totally revived. In television, computer programs, electronic highway systems the medium of delivery is most commonly English. Hence it is felt that in order for either indigenous language acquisition or development to be successful the method must be one of total immersion. The researchers also indicated that learning through one's mother tongue does not take away from one's ability to function in the now almost universal language of English. In fact studies indicate that a person functions better in English after learning the mother tongue to its highest level of literacy. Thus, the suggestion is for communities to work at total immersion programs from early childhood to post-secondary programs to ensure successful revitalization or maintenance of an indigenous language. The New Zealand model of immersion from womb to tomb that has revitalized the Maori language was used as an example by a number of presenters. I felt somewhat disillusioned as although we have Inuvialuktun and Gwich'in in acquisition classes we have not made much of an impact in revitalizing the languages. However, to put things in perspective, we are relatively new at this game compared to our counterparts in New Zealand and

Arizona. I found the roundtable discussions very informative and useful as groups relayed celebrations of success stories. — Pauline Gordon

Thank you for all your hard work putting the Symposium together. It was excellent.

Selected Resources on Native American Language Renewal

Jon Reyhner

The Flagstaff Roundtables on Stabilizing Indigenous Languages sought through the bringing together of tribal educators and experts on linguistics, language renewal, and language teaching to lay out a blueprint of policy changes, educational reforms, and community initiatives to stabilize and revitalize American Indian and Alaska Native languages. Much of the relevant previous literature on the subject is cited in the various papers included in this monograph, especially in Dr. Burnaby's paper in Section I, which emphasizes the Canadian experience, and in the "Selected Resources On Endangered Languages" compiled by Anthony C. Woodbury in the following appendix, which takes a world perspective. This review describes some of the most important literature with an emphasis on the United States.

Perhaps the best known school-based indigenous language maintenance program is the one at Rock Point Community School on the Navajo Reservation in Arizona. The most complete description of this program can be found in Paul Rosier and Wayne Holm's *The Rock Point experience: A longitudinal study of a Navajo school program (Saad Naaki Bee Na'nitin). Papers in Applied Linguistics, Bilingual Series: 8* (Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1980). An update on Rock Point can be found in Jon Reyhner's "A description of the Rock Point Community School bilingual education program" in his 1990 *Effective language education practices and native language survival* (pp. 95-106). Choctaw, OK: Native American Language Issues. Dan McLaughlin's *When literacy empowers: Navajo language in print* (University of New Mexico, 1992) is a study of the Rock Point-like community with interesting insights into how their community school was founded.

A seminal work on stabilizing indigenous languages is Robert St. Clair and William Leap's edited volume *Language renewal among American Indian tribes: Issues, problems, and prospects.* Rosslyn, VA: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, 1982). The published proceedings of the Native American Language Issues (NALI) Institutes from 1986 to 1989 also contain excellent material. They include:

Suzanne Weryackwe. (Ed.). (1986). *Sixth annual international Native American Languages Issues Institute proceedings: Selected papers and biographics.* Choctaw, OK: Native American Language Issues.

Freda Ahenakew and Shirley Fredeen. (Eds.). (1987). *Our languages: Our survival* (Proceedings of the 7th annual Native

American Languages Issues Institute). Saskatoon, Saskatchewan: Saskatchewan Indian Languages Institute.

Arizona Department of Education Staff. (Eds.). (1989). *Proceedings of the Eighth Annual International Native American Language Issues Institute.* Choctaw, OK: Native American Language Issues Institute.

Jon Reyhner (Ed.). (1990). *Effective language education practices and native language survival* (Proceedings of the 9th annual NALI Institute). Choctaw, OK: Native American Language Issues. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 342 512)

The Winter 1988 (Vol. 47, #4) issue of *Human Organization* was largely devoted to indigenous language articles. Individual articles of interest include William L. Leap's "Indian Language Renewal" (pp. 283-291) and Elizabeth A. Brandt's "Applied Linguistic Anthropology and American Indian Language Renewal" (pp. 322-329).

The 1989 special issue (Vol. 16, #2) of the *Canadian Journal of Native Education* titled "Language is a gift from the Creator" is a valuable resource, especially the article by Elizabeth A. Brandt and Vivian Ayoungman titled "Language renewal and language maintenance: A practical guide" (pp. 42-77). In the same issue Augie Fleras gives a good description of the New Zealand language nests in her article "Te Kohanga Reo: A Maori renewal program in New Zealand" (pp. 78-88). The time and commitment required by the adult apprentice model being used in California is described in Leanne Hinton's 1990/91 article "How to learn your language" in *News from Native California, 5*(1), 34-36.

The Winter 1994 special issues of the *Peabody Journal of Education* (Vol. 69, #2) titled "Negotiating the Culture of Indigenous Schools" and edited by Jerry Lipka and Arlene Stairs has a dozen articles on indigenous education, including an article by Lucille J. Watahomigie and Teresa L. McCarty on "Bilingual/bicultural Education at Peach Springs [Arizona]: A Hualapai Way of Schooling" (pp. 26-42). More recently the Winter 1995 (Vol. 19, # 1) special issue of the *Bilingual Research Journal* titled "Indigenous Language Education and Literacy" edited by Teresa L. McCarty and Ofelia Zepeda contains useful articles in four sections. Part 1 is "Conceptualizing indigenous literacies," Part 2 is "The status of indigenous languages in the U.S. and Canada," Part 3 has "Models of indigenous language education," and Part 4 contains a "Synthesis and discussion: The Role of indigenous communities in language and culture renewal." The Spring 1995 issue (Vol. 19, #2) of the same journal contains Jon Reyhner and Ed Tennant's article "Maintaining and Renewing Native Languages" (pp. 279-304). Reyhner's *Teaching American Indian students* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1992) also contains useful information on maintaining American Indian languages in his chapter on bilingual education.

Two recent doctoral dissertations are of special interest: Richard Earl Little Bear (Ve'kesohnestooe). (1994). *An ethnographic study of Cheyenne elders: Contributions to language and cultural survival.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Boston University and Evangeline Parson Yazzie. (1995). *A study of reasons for Navajo language attrition as perceived by Navajo speaking parents.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Northern Arizona University.

A "home page" on the World Wide Web for American Indian education that includes information on endangered Indian languages is maintained by the Northwest Regional Education Laboratory program for Research and Development for Indian Education. It has linkages to other such resources on the internet. The page can be located through the laboratory's home page at <http://www.nwrel.org>; select "programs" and then "Indian education." For more information contact Robey Clark at <clarkr@nwrel.org>.

Selected Resources On Endangered Languages

Anthony C. Woodbury[1]

1. ORGANIZATIONS

General Focus

Deutsche Gesellschaft fuer Sprachwissenschaft. Arbeitsgruppe Bedrohte Sprachen. Chair, Hans-Joergen Sasse (U. Koeln; am015@rs1.rrz.Uni-Koeln.DE). Purpose to draw attention to endangered languages and their documentation; to promote field work in graduate curricula; and to develop sources of support for EL field work.

The Endangered Language Fund. Nonprofit organization devoted to the scientific study of endangered languages; the support of community-initiated preservation efforts; the broader dissemination of the linguistic results of these efforts. Contact: Doug Whalen (Endangered Language Fund; Dept. of Linguistics; Yale University; New Haven, CT 06520; whalen@haskins.yale.edu).

Linguistic Society of America (LSA). Committee on Endangered Languages and their Preservation. Membership is by appointment, but all LSA members are invited to get involved in the committee's activities. Contact: Akira Yamamoto, Chair (Anthropology, U Kansas; akira@kuhub.cc.ukans.edu).

UNESCO, with the involvement of its affiliate the International Council of Philosophy and Humanities Studies (CIPSH) and its constituent organizations the Permanent International Committee of Linguists (CIPL) and the International Academic Union (UAI), formed a committee in 1992 on language endangerment whose plans included calling attention to the problem, obtaining Japanese government funding for an international data clearinghouse on endangered languages and finding support for field work projects. Contact Prof. Stephen A. Wurm (ANU; RSPAS; Linguistics; Canberra ACT; 0200; Australia; Ph. +6-6-249 2369; Fax +61-6-257 1893). Founding documents available electronically at URL ftp://coombs.anu.edu.au/coombspapers/otherarchives/cipsh-unesco-archives/. On data clearinghouse status, contact Prof. Shigeru Tsuchida (Linguistics; U Tokyo, 7-3-1 Hongo, Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo 113 (Japan) Ph: (81) 3 3812 2111, extension (Naisen) 3807 or 3806).

---

[1] Dr. Woodbury can be contacted at the Department of Linguistics; University of Texas; Austin, TX 78712; acw@mail.utexas.edu; 512 471-1701. This resource list is adapted from one presented by Dr. Woodbury at the "Organized Session: Field Reports/Endangered Languages" at the Linguistic Society of America Annual Meeting in New Orleans, January 6, 1995.

Focus on the Americas

Advocates for Indigenous California Language Survival. Subcommittee of Native California Network, PO Box 1050; Bolinas, CA 94924. Contact: Mary Bates.

American Indian Language Development Institute (AILDI). Summer Institute for Native American teachers, para-professionals, parents. Directors: Ofelia Zepeda and Teresa McCarty. Program Coordinator: Karen Francis-Begay. Department of Language, Reading & Culture; University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ 85721, Ph: 602 621-1068, FAX -1853.

Centro Editorial en Literatura Indigena, A.C. (CELIAC); Box 1530, Oaxaca, Oax. Mexico 68000, or Avenida Ejercito Mexicano 1107, Colonia Ampliacion Dolores, Oaxaca, Oaxaca, 68020 Mexico. A not-for-profit, indigenous-language publishing center. Contact (in Spanish) Jesus Salinas or Josefa Gonzalez (Ph: 011-52- 951-59725 or 59729; CELIAC@laneta.igc.apc.org; or (in English) H. Russell Bernard (904-376-4544; fax: 904-376-8617; ufruss@nervm.nerdc.ufl.edu).

The Institute for the Preservation of the Original Languages of the Americas: Joanna Hess, President/Founder, Gloria Emerson (Navajo), Vice President; 713 1/2A Canyon Road, Santa Fe, NM 87501 (Ph: 505 820-0311; ipola@roadrunner.com)

Projeto Linguas Amazonicas, Museu Parense Emilio Goeldi; Avda. Magalhaes Barata 376; CP 399, 66040; 170 Belem, PA; Brazil; Contact: Dr. Denny Moore.

Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas. Sponsors annual Conference on American Indian Languages (meeting together with LSA in San Diego, January 1996); Publishes SSILA Newsletter. Contact Victor Golla (Ethnic Studies; Humboldt State University; Arcata, CA 95521; gollav@axe.humboldt.edu).

2. CONFERENCES (PAST AND FUTURE)

July 4-9, 1994. 48th International Congress of Americanists, Stockholm and Uppsala. Symposium: Endangered indigenous languages of the Americas and their future: In memory of Wick R. Miller. Convenors: Yolanda Lastra and Ram'n Arza'palo Mari'n (UNAM). Further info: SSILA Newsletter 8:3 (Oct. 1994).

July 9, 1994, La Trobe University, Melbourne. Workshop: Language shift and maintenance in the Asia-Pacific Region. Contact Patrick McConvell (Anthropology; mcconvell_p@uncL04.ntu.edu.au) or the NAT-LANG archive (listed below), keyword PALM (Pacific/Asia Language Maintenance), for an electronic copy of the report.

Jan., 9-10, 1995, Tulane University, New Orleans. Language south of the Ri'o Bravo: A Parasession to the 1995 Annual Meeting of the LSA. Contact Harry Howard (Spanish, Tulane; Ph: 504 865-5518;

howard@mailhost.tcs.tulane.edu) or Judie Maxwell (Anthropology, Tulane; Ph: 504 865-5336; maxwell@mailhost.tcs.tulane.edu).

Jan. 12, 19, 26, and Feb. 2, 1995, MIT, Cambridge, MA. Workshop on Endangered Languages and Linguistic Diversity; from 1-4 PM each day in Room 66-154. Contact Rob Pensalfini (rjpensal@mit.edu) or Jonathan Bobaljik (jdbobalj@mit.edu), Dept. of Linguistics and Philosophy, MIT, Room 20D-213, Cambridge MA 02139, USA.

Feb. 3-5, 1995, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH. Endangered Languages: Current issues and future prospects. Conference. Contact Lenore Grenoble (l.grenoble@dartmouth.edu; 603 646-3404) or Lindsay Whaley (l.whaley@dartmouth.edu; 603 646-2055).

Feb. 18, 1995, American Association for the Advancement of Science Annual Meeting, Atlanta, Ga. Session: Endangered Languages. Contact: William Poser (First Nations Studies, University of Northern British Columbia, 3333 University Way, Prince George, BC, Canada, V2N 4Z9; poser@unbc.edu).

April 21, 1995, University of Bristol, Centre for Theories of Language and Learning. Seminar, The conservation of endangered languages; at 9 Woodland Rd, Bristol BS8 1TB, UK. Contact Dan Brickley or Andrew Woodfield (e-mail: centre-tll@bristol.ac.uk); information available electronically at URL http://www.bris.ac.uk /Depts/Philosophy/CTLL/.

June 30-July 2, 1995, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque. Symposium, Language loss and public policy. Contact: Garland Bills (Linguistics, UNM, Albuquerque, NM 87131; Ph: 505 277-7416, -0324, fax 6355; gbills@bootes.unm.edu).

April 25-27, 1996, Mille Lacs Ojibwe Reservation, Onamia, MN, 15th Annual International Native American Language Issues (NALI) Institute. Contact Dr. Ben Ramirez-shkwegnaabi (American Indian Center, SCSU, 720 4th Avenue South, St. Cloud, MN 56301. Ph: 612 654-5449).

June 15-23, 1996, Albuquerque, NM, World Indigenous Peoples Conference: Education. Contact Linda Sue Warner (University of New Mexico, High Performance Computing, Education & Research Center, Galles Building, 1601 Central Ave., NE, Albuquerque, NM 87131; Ph: 505 277-8249 or 8371, fax 8235; wipc_e@arc.unm.edu).

3. ELECTRONIC LISTS AND ARCHIVES

Australian-Linguistics-L. Forum and central electronic archive those interested in the study of indigenous Australian (Aboriginal and Islander) languages, including contemporary creoles and Aboriginal and Islander English dialects. To subscribe, send e-mail to majordomo@coombs.anu.edu.au with the message "subscribe Australian-Linguistics-L <your e-mail address>".

Aboriginal Studies Electronic Data Archive. Australian Inst. of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, GPO Box 553, Canberra, 2601. Ph: 06 2461170. Data from 250+ lgs. and software to help with language work. Catalog at URL http://coombs.anu.edu.au/SpecialProj/ASEDA/ASEDA.html. Contact: Nick Thieberger.

Endangered-Languages-L. A forum and central electronic archive for those interested in the interested in, the study and documentation of endangered languages. To subscribe, send e-mail to majordomo@coombs.anu.edu.au with the message "subscribe Endangered-Languages-L <your e-mail address>".

NAT-LANG. Email list focusing on languages of Aboriginal peoples. For further information send e-mail to NAT-LANG@tamvm1.tamu.edu.

4. READINGS

Arbeitsgruppe 'Bedrohte Sprachen.' (1993). *Informationsbroschuere zur Dokumentation von bedrohten Sprachen*. Deutsche Gesellschaft fuer Sprachwissenschaft.

Bernard, H. Russell. (1992). Preserving language diversity. *Human Organization, 51*(1), 82-89.

Brenzinger, Matthias. (Ed.). (1992). *Language death: Factual and theoretical explorations with reference to East Africa*. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Dorian, Nancy C. (1981). *Language death: The life cycle of a Scottish Gaelic dialect*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.

Dorian, Nancy C. (Ed.). (1989). *Investigating obsolescence: Studies in language contraction and obsolescence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.

Dressler, Wolfgang U. (1988). Language death. In Frederick J. Newmeyer (Ed.), *Linguistics: the Cambridge survey* (Vol. 4: Language: The socio-cultural context, pp. 184-192). Cambridge: Cambridge University.

Fase, Willem, Koen Jaspaert, & Sjaak Kroon. (Eds.). (1995). *The state of minority languages: International perspectives on survival and decline*. Lisse, the Netherlands: Swets & Zeitlinger.

Fase, Willem, Koen Jaspaert, & Sjaak Kroon. (Eds.) (1992). *Maintenance and loss of minority languages*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Fishman, Joshua A. (1991). *Reversing language shift*. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Gal, Susan (1979). *Language shift: Social determinants of linguistic change in bilingual Austria*. New York: Academic.

Greaves, Tom. (Ed.). (1994). *Intellectual property rights for indigenous peoples, a source book*. Oklahoma City, OK: Society for

Applied Anthropology (Order: PO Box 24083, Oklahoma City, OK 73124-0083).

Hale, Ken, Michael Krauss, Lucille Watahomigie, Akira Yamamoto, Colette Craig, LaVerne Masayesva Jeanne, & Nora England. (1992). Endangered languages. *Language, 68*(1), 1-42.

Hill, Jane. (1983). Language death in Uto-Aztecan. *International Journal of American Linguistics, 49*, 258-76.

Hinton, Leanne. (1994). *Flute of fire: Essays on California Indian Languages.* Berkeley: Heyday.

Karttunen, Frances E. (1994). *Between worlds : interpreters, guides, and survivors.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University.

Kulick, Don. (1992). *Language shift and cultural reproduction: Socialization, self, and syncretism in a Papua New Guinean village.* Cambridge University.

Mithun, Marianne. (1994). SSILA Presidential Address, 1993. *SSILA Newsletter, 12*(4), 10-11.

Newman, Paul. (1992). Fieldwork and field methods in linguistics. *California Linguistic Notes, 23*(2), 1-8.

Robins, Robert H. & Eugenius M. Uhlenbeck. (Eds.). (1991). *Endangered languages.* Oxford & New York: Berg. [See also Nancy Dorian's 1994 review, *Language, 70*(4), 797-802.]. This book includes Lucille Watahomigie and J. Hill's chapter "The condition of Native American languages in the United States" (pp. 135-155).

Woodbury, Anthony C. (1993). A defense of the proposition 'When a language dies, a culture dies.' Texas Linguistic Forum 33: Proceedings of the first Annual Symposium on Language in Society-Austin.

Journal of Navajo Education

JNE Organization

The *Journal of Navajo Education* is a non-profit, tribal organization dedicated to promoting community and tribal-centered education in schools that serve Navajos and other American Indians. It is produced with the support of the Navajo Division of Education and the Ford Foundation. A five-member Board of Directors oversees all aspects of *JNE* operations and development. Current board members include Benjamin Barney, Lukachukai, Arizona; Agnes Holm, Crystal, Arizona; McQueen Redhouse, Rock Point, Arizona; Afton Sells, Window Rock, Arizona; and Marjorie Thomas, Chinle, Arizona.

Information for Subscribers

JNE (ISSN 1042-3265) is published three times a year, in Fall, Winter, and Spring. Subscriptions rates are as follows: individuals, one year, $15.00, two years, $25.00; institutions, one year, $25.00, two years, $45.00. Individual issues can be purchased for $5.00. Foreign subscriptions via surface mail should add $6.00 and be paid in US currency. Write for more information about overseas airmail subscription prices.

JNE's Address

Address all correspondence regarding subscriptions, manuscripts, or other matters, to: *Journal of Navajo Education*, Daniel McLaughlin, Editor Ned Hatathli Center, Navajo Community College, Tsaile, Arizona 86556. Phone: 520 724-6703; Fax: 520 724-3327

Information for Contributors

JNE seeks contributions in English and Navajo from teachers, practitioners, policy-makers, scholars, researchers, parents, and children who have an interest in the education of Navajo and other American Indian students. For each manuscript, contributors are asked to submit three copies — as spelled out below — plus an abstract of 75-100 words. All copy should be double-spaced and justified to the left margin only. *JNE* prefers feature article manuscripts of eight to twenty pages (again, double-spaced) and book reviews of 500-1,000 words. Manuscripts should conform to the guidelines of the APA for research articles and citations, the *Chicago Manual of Style* for descriptive writing, and Young and Morgan's *Navajo Dictionary* (1980) for Navajo orthography. Footnotes should appear as "Notes" at the end of articles. References to the literature should not be cited as footnotes but rather carried within the text in parentheses with an author's last name, the year of original publication, and page, e.g., (Young, 1977: 23), or, if the author is mentioned in the text, merely by date and page (1977: 23). Manuscripts will not be returned unless the contributor includes a self-addressed, stamped envelope.

Peer-Review

JNE is a peer-reviewed journal. All manuscript submissions are sent to two readers, who critique the article's content and presentation. For prospective authors, the review process typically takes six to eight weeks. To facilitate the process, please submit three copies of all manuscript submissions: two with anonymous title sheets, the other with the authors' names, institutional affiliations (if appropriate), and addresses. Since *JNE* is produced with desk-top technology (on Macintosh equipment with Microsoft Word 6.0, a variety of graphics programs, and PageMaker 4.2), upon acceptance for publication, authors will be asked about the availability of their manuscripts on 3.5 inch computer diskette.

Special Theme Issue: Diné Education in Navajo Schooling (Fall 1994, Vol. 12, No. 1)

Feature Articles included James K. McNeley's "The Pattern Which Connects Navajo and Western Knowledge," Patricia Anne Davis's "Thoughts on Diné Education," Edward R. Garrison's "Transforming Biology Curriculum at Navajo Community College to Include Navajo and Western Cultural Knowledge," Herbert Benally's "Navajo Philosophy of Learning and Pedagogy," Rosemary Blanchard's "Learning Citizenship For and From Diné Communities: Developing Organic Social Studies Curriculum for the Navajo Nation," and Robert Rhodes "A Navajo Education System for Students."

A Model for Promoting Native American Language Preservation and Teaching[1]

Introduction

"Are you an English speaker?" Says a school administrator to a person walking down a street.

"Yep, ah sho' am." The person replies.

"Good! We don't have anyone to teach English at the school. You're the one we've been looking for. Come and teach English for us."

"Don't mind if I do," Replies the person, and off that person goes to teach English at the local school.

While the above scenario may not happen in reality where the English language is concerned, it is a scenario, with variations, that occurs in many Native American language development programs, except that the players are usually administrators of Native American language programs. The administrators select someone to teach the Native American language simply on the basis of fluency. While fluency is an essential qualification for all Native American language teachers, the ability to teach that fluency to students is equally important. To counteract the result of the scenario illustrated in the introduction, which usually contributed to program failure, the staff at Interface Alaska Multifunctional Resource Center (MRC) 16 developed a model aimed at providing Native American language teachers with the necessary classroom knowledge to effectively teach their languages.

The Issues

This model was born out of frustration with the process to select Native American language teachers and with the lack of appropriate training for them. There are many fluent speakers who are also effective teachers of their languages; this model is not directed at them. There are also many fluent speakers teaching their languages who know nothing about classroom management, teaching methods, or develop appropriate practices. It is this group of people for whom the model was created. Many conditions and situations contribute to the development of this model.

The model was developed primarily because too many Native American language development programs fail because they are usually staffed with paraprofessionals. Many of these paraprofessionals have little or no training in how to teach their languages.

---

[1] This model was developed by the Interface Alaska Bilingual Multifunctional Resource Center 16 staff and consultants, Richard E. Littlebear, Director. The information was compiled and written by Dr. R. E. Littlebear and edited by Dr. Alicia Martinez.

Secondly, it was developed because often state certification processes may not include certification for people who have special skills, such as fluency in a Native American language or knowledge of a Native American culture. This then does not encourage institutions of higher learning to have a program for Native American language instruction.

Thirdly, it was developed because some of these teachers are older, have had less schooling, are more traditional, may not have access to teacher preparation programs, or may simply not have the academic or economic resources to return to school for additional training.

Fourthly, the model provides Native American language teachers with a foundation of the skills and knowledge that they could add to their language fluency and cultural knowledge and make them effective teachers of their own languages.

It was developed to eliminate program failure because, often when Native American language programs fail, they lose advocates in the school and in the community. Consequently, it takes the passage of time to regain advocates. In the meantime, many elders will have journeyed on, taking with them their cultural and language knowledge.

This model is just a stop-gap measure. It does not take the place of a full-scale teacher training program. It is designed to provide Native American language teachers some knowledge of classroom teaching, language teaching, and other effective teaching strategies.

This model does not teach the language; however, a language teaching model can be developed locally from this first model. Training and continued education have to be central to any Native language development program, especially if that program hopes to be successful.

Total Physical Response and the Natural Approach

This whole training process is designed to introduce and expand upon the Total Physical Response (TPR) Approach and The Natural Approach as the primary teaching methods to be used by the Native American language teachers. These approaches are orally-based, meaning that they develop language from the smallest oral components of the language to eventual conversational and technical fluency. These approaches are easily transportable from one language to another. Even though they require much preparation and constant application, they do not need the in-depth preparation demanded by regular teacher preparation courses. Most importantly, both approaches require fluent speakers of the Native American language. On the other hand, if a Native American language teacher prefers to use other methods, they are free to do so. In so doing, though, methods selected must teach the very basic sounds of the language on an oral basis.

In implementing this model, the TPR Approach is introduced as part of the "Ice-Breaker" section of the first day's presentations. Five commands are initially introduced and they are practiced before every refreshment break, before the noon meal, and just before the end of the day's session throughout the duration of the training.

This use of the TPR Approach provides immediate application of a powerful language teaching method for the Native American language teachers. It is also included throughout because it gives the Native American language teacher a sense of the anxiety and uncertainty that their students are experiencing as they go about acquiring and learning their own Native American languages.

Background Information

To backup somewhat, before the model is actually discussed, some background material must be provided. One of the dialogues that the director of the Interface Alaska MRC 16 has been involved in for the past 15 or so years concerns Native American language preservation. [This essay will use "language preservation" to encompass all the other phrases like "language rejuvenation," "language conservation," "language maintenance," which focus on the perpetuation of languages. The term "Native American" will also be used simply because the issues discussed herein also refer to Alaska Natives and Hawaiian Natives]. At any rate, this dialogue that the director has been involved in has to do with the very evident fact that Native Americans are losing their languages. This dialogue has been just that: a dialogue. The topic of language death has been "dialogued" to death. Those who are serious about preserving their languages must act now. They have to start tape-recording and video-taping their elders, to begin developing curriculum for language development and content area instruction, and begin comprehensive, college-credit training programs. Whatever action is taken, it must emanate from the Native American cultures whose language is to be preserved.

At Interface Alaska MRC 16, the staff took a look at how Native American language teachers are trained, if they are trained at all, about how to teach their languages. To overcome that frustration that was previously mentioned, the Interface Alaska MRC 16 decided to teach Native American language teachers how to teach their languages to slow or even stop the loss of languages that is occurring at an alarmingly high and accelerating rate. This is what will be outlined in the following narrative.

The Model

This model is designed to address topics that enable Native American language teachers to teach their languages. It has been used at four different locations: Ketchikan and Galena in Alaska and at Lame Deer and Busby in Montana.

The basic format for the model entails a 7.5 hour day lasting five days. It can be expanded or contracted, depending on the time constraints of the local program. This model takes a Native American language teacher from the affective domain, to the theoretical, to the mission statement development, to the introduction of classroom strategies, and finally to the practical application of all the previous topics.

The First Session: the affective domain and emotions

This session addresses the affective domain of teaching and learning. It also addresses the emotional aspects of language loss by presenting topics on the cycle of grief, the long-term effects of deprivation of land and culture, and positive self and cultural concepts. Along with the latter two topics, relevant activities were introduced and applied for the benefit of the Native American language teachers so that they could use these activities in their classrooms. There are also people who speak about what it means to speak a Native American language, and what it means to be a Native American and not to be able to speak a Native American language.

At this session, five commands are also introduced using the TPR Approach. These commands along with other vocabulary that will be added later on will be continued throughout the training process.

The Second Session: building a theoretical base

The second session established a theoretical base for the Native American language teachers by presenting them with the selected theories of first and second language acquisition. This theoretical base focused on the writings of Jim Cummins, James Asher, Steven Krashen, Lily Wong-Fillmore, and Tracy Terrell. All of these researchers produced classroom oriented information and theories. They are used because, if the Native American tribes are going to abdicate their responsibilities of teaching their languages and cultures to the schools, then the schools will have to devise strategies that actually teach students to become conversationally proficient in their own languages.

This session also dealt with Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency, BICS and CALP respectively. Also discussed was language acquisition and language learning and the differences between these two.

The Third Session: forming a personal or group rationale

This third session centers around forming a rationale as to why each of the Native American language teachers are in the language preservation program. The reason for this topic is to make the Native

American language teachers think about why they are really in the program. This is to help set them firmly as to why they are in the program. The topics from the first two sessions will provide them with information to help them begin formulating their own personal rationale.

The reason for rationale-forming is that too often when Native American language teachers are asked why they are in a language preservation program, their rationale goes only as deep as their immediate economic needs: it provides a check. While this is a justifiable rationale in its own right, it does not speak of long-term commitment to the language program, nor does it prioritize for the language teacher the need for continued education and training. It does not speak to the need for constantly honing their teaching skills. Having a shallow rationale for being a part of a language preservation program often leads to the failure of that program because a person who is not committed will abandon the preservation program when a better paying job becomes available.

The Fourth Session: classroom methods

In this session, the Native American language teachers are introduced to whole language, sheltered language, accelerated learning, Total Physical Response Approach, The Natural Approach, and cooperative learning. Just by the sheer range of classroom management topics involved in this session, all are necessarily just introductions. This session presents the above topics to acquaint the Native American language teachers with classroom management skills. Each of these topics are in harmony with teaching language by an oral-based approach. The linguistic structure of many Native American languages demands that more than simple, discrete, individual vocabulary word lists be taught. Native American languages have been characterized as being "polysynthetic" languages, which means that many elements are pulled together, usually around a verb, to produce coherent meaning. In the meantime, some of those words that have been taught in vocabulary lists often disappear completely. The whole language approach lends itself to teaching Native American languages as whole phrases, clauses, or sentences and presents the learning of those languages in context. Accelerated learning techniques take advantage of the readily available, culturally embedded stories and songs to teach the language, which is one of their original purposes anyhow. The sheltered language method acquaints the students with those words, phrases, clauses, sentences that they will be learning and it teaches about them in preparation for the students to actually begin using them in context. Cooperative learning techniques use another culturally embedded value, sharing, to enable the Native American language teacher to manage the classroom.

The Fifth Session: practical applications

At this session, the presenters focus on lesson plan building, curriculum development and materials development. The various kinds of curriculum — such as the integrated, the parallel, and the thematic — are discussed. The presenters also introduce scoping, sequencing, expanding, or contracting curriculum that has been developed. These concepts are such essential classroom skills that the presenters introduce them because the Native American language teachers may also have to be the curriculum developers for their programs.

Follow-up: the aftermath of training

In later follow-up sessions, the presenters will go into depth concerning any of the above topics. The Native American language teachers will decide on the topics they want training. The whole idea behind this training model is to tailor the training process to meet the needs of the Native American language teachers. Embedded in the whole process is the flexibility to address other topics that the Native American language teachers need to discuss rather than providing "canned" or "prefabricated" training. Those kind of presentations usually do not address the immediate needs of the Native American language teachers.

Conclusion

Finally, it is hoped that the dialogue that the director has been involved in for the past 15 years will be translated into action. Native Americans are aware that they are losing their languages and cultures but it is useless for them to continuously lament these losses, to continuously blame the schools, the government, the churches, and the mass media for these losses. Native Americans know these organizations are to blame, but they must further realize that these organizations are going to do little if anything to languages and cultures.

It is up to Native Americans to preserve their languages and cultures. To help reinforce what the schools are trying to do, Native Americans should just talk their languages everywhere, with everyone all the time.

Town Highway 3 Box 6
West Glover, VT 05875
Dec. 12, 1995

Gina Cantoni
Center for Excellence in Education
PO Box 5774
Northern Arizona U.
Flagstaff, AZ 86011

Dear Ms. Cantoni,

I read about your new organization on stabilizing indigenous languages in December's Anthropology Newsletter. I am a sociocultural anthropologist and a member of the Western Abenaki indigenous nation. My nation lives in its original homelands in northern New England and southern Canada. Over the past three years we have been trying to salvage our tribal language, which has fewer than a dozen elder speakers, age 53-90, left. We are very interested in restoring Abenaki, at least as a secondary language, as part of our cultural renewal. Our language reclamation efforts are having some success, and some problems. One is the colonial language problem. Some of us are French speakers, others are English speakers, but few are bilingual English-French and only three, of about 3,000 Abenakis, are trilingual English-Abenaki-French. Another major problem is the only large dictionary currently available on Western Abenaki to English is seriously flawed because of transcription errors. The transcriptionist didn't speak Abenaki well enough to hear the nuances of speech, such as the differences between the voiced 'p' and unvoiced 'p'.

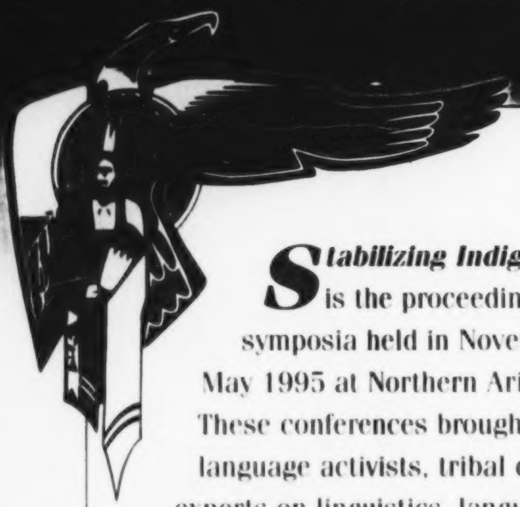
As soon as I finish my dissertation on contemporary Western Abenaki identity (hopefully by May 1996) I intend to begin in-depth work with the native speakers on a grammar, educational curricula for teaching Abenaki as a second language, reintroducing Abenaki to the communities, and a corrected dictionary. These projects will take 5-10 years of work and will require grants to support.

If your organization knows of funding sources for projects to salvage endangered languages, particularly indigenous North American ones, I would appreciate knowing about these. I doubt I can attend any conferences outside of New England because of tribal and personal poverty, but I am interested in at least knowing about them also.

Sincerely,

Mariella Squire

Mariella Squire



Stabilizing Indigenous Languages is the proceedings of two symposia held in November 1994 and May 1995 at Northern Arizona University. These conferences brought together language activists, tribal educators, and experts on linguistics, language renewal, and language reforms, and community initiatives to stabilize and revitalize American Indian and Alaska Native languages.

Stabilizing Indigenous Languages includes a survey of the historical, current, and projected status of indigenous languages in the United States as well as extensive information on the roles of families, communities, and schools in promoting their use and maintenance. It includes descriptions of successful native language programs and papers by leaders in the field of indigenous language study, including Joshua Fishman and Michael Krauss.

NAU is an Equal Opportunity/Affirmative Action Institution
NAU Publication Services/4M/G6214

BEST COPY AVAILABLE